



LORD BALMERINO,
Aged 58.



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THE
LIVES
OF

*Arthur Lord Balmerino,
Willam Earl of Kilmarnock,
George Earl of Cromertie,
Jenny Cameron, and
Simon Lord Lovat.*

The first Two executed on *Tower-Hill*; the Third reprieved; with an Account of the Proceedings against them, and their Behaviour on, and after their Trials; the Fourth, the Celebrated Mistress of the Young Pretender, and the last now confined in the Tower.

Illustrated with Copper-Plate Cuts of their Heads, &c.

L O N D O N:

Printed for C. WHITEFIELD, in *White-Fryers, Fleet-Street.* M DCC XLVI.

THE
LIVES
OF

Arthur Lord Bunsby
William Lord of A
George Earl of
James Countess and
John Lord

The first two occurred on Tuesday
I had received, with in receipt
Proceedings against him, and
he was, and after that I was
found, and the other of the
young, and the new con-
fined in the Tower.

Printed and Copied by James Bunsby

L O N D O N :

Printed for C. Warrington, in New-Street, 1741.
28. MDCCLXII.



T H E
L I F E
O F
Arthur Lord Balmerino.



ARTHUR Elphinston, Lord Balmerino, was born at *Leith*, near *Edinburgh*, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, in the Month of *August*, 1688, being a younger Son, by a second Venter, of *John Lord Balmerino*, the fourth Person in this Family, who enjoyed that Title. But before we proceed to the Particulars of this Gentleman's History, it may not be amiss to give the Reader some Account of the Antiquity of his Name and Family.

The *Elphingstons* are a very antient, if not a numerous Family in *Scotland*, the first of whom is said to have come over from *Germany*, in the Reign of *Robert I*, King of *Scotland*, and was a Person of such Rank that he married the King's Niece, Daughter of Sir *Christopher Seaton*, of *Seaton*, whose Lady was *Robert's* Sister.

By this Alliance, and his own personal Merit, he grew into great Esteem with the King, who, to prevent his returning to his own Country, where he was highly distinguished, settled on him certain Lands in *Mid-Lothian*, sufficient to support his Dignity, and which he called after his own Name, as they are to this Day, as well as other Lands in the Shire of *Sterling*, which gave Title to the Lord *Elphingston*, Chief of the Family we are now speaking of.

One of the Descendants of this Family was Sir *William Elphingston*, who is said to have been remarkably tall and large built, and was reputed the strongest Man of the Age he lived in. In all Deeds of Chivalry there were none who could excel him ; his Courage was equal to his Strength, and his Modesty and Affability, if possible, exceeded both. He was readier to overlook an Affront, than Men less capable of resenting it ; and chose rather to shew his Contempt of an ill-manner'd Person, than chastise him, unless there
was

was Honour to be gained by the Contest. He made several Additions to the antient Estate of the Family, both in the Shire of *Lothian*, and in that of *Sterling*; and married, after he was pretty much advanced in Years, a Lady of the Noble House of *Douglas*, by whom he had one Son,

Alexander, who succeeded him in his Estate, and gave very early Proofs, that he was worthy such a Father; for though he had not that Strength which distinguished his Father, yet he possessed all his Courage and Vigour. This Gentleman applied himself chiefly to the Exercise of Arms, and in a short Time acquired a large Share of Military Glory. In the famous Battle of *Pipardain*, it is agreed by all Historians, that the signal Victory, obtained by the *Scotch* that Day over the *English*, was intirely owing to his Valour and Conduct; but he was himself killed by a random Shot of some Runaways.

He left only one Daughter, married to *Gilbert Johnston*, who possessed, in her Right, all the Lands belonging to her Father, in the Shire of *Mid-Lothian*, but those Lands called *Elphinston*, in the Shire of *Sterling*, devolved, in Consequence of a solemn Arbitration in the Year 1471, upon Sir *Henry Elphinston*, his Brother, from whom they have descended in a direct Line to the pre-

sent Head of the Family, the Lord *Elphinston*.

The above-named Sir *Henry Elphinston* was a Man of great Probity, and eminent Qualities, which he displayed in the Discharge of several Employments in the State under *James IV.* King of *Scotland*, who, after Sir *Henry's* Decease, gave his eldest Son Sir *Alexander* all his Employments, and soon after created him a Baron.

This *Alexander*, the first Lord *Elphinston*, married *Margaret Barlow*, Maid of Honour to King *James IV.* his Queen; and the King gave him in Dower with her, the Barony of *Kildrumny*, in the Shire of *Marr*, but he did not live long to enjoy either his new Honours, or the Acquisitions by his Wife; for following the Fortunes of his Royal Master to the fatal Field of *Flodden*, died fighting by his Side, in the Flower of his Age, and left his Estate and Title to

Alexander, the second Lord *Elphinston*, of whom but little is said in History, either good or bad, more than that he was somewhat deformed in his Person, and had no very promising Genius. He married *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *John*, Lord *Erskine*, by whom he had five Sons, and was succeeded by the Eldest,

John, the third Lord *Elphinston*, a Gentleman of conspicuous Merit, and who soon

soon made a Figure both in the Field and the Cabinet: He married *Elizabeth*, Daughter to Sir *John Drummond*, of *Innerpeffry*, by *Janet* his Wife, natural Daughter of King *James IV.*

His Inclination to Arms was so great, that when the Union of the two Crowns had put a Stop to those Jars between *England* and *Scotland*, which used to employ the Youth of both Nations, he would not remain unactive at home, but went over into the Emperor's Service, and signalized himself so as to reflect Honour on himself and Country.

When he returned, his Interest being great at Court, he had several Employments under King *James VI.* who also created his second Son *James Lord Balmerino*; from whom was lineally descended the late unhappy Lord, being his Great Great Grandson.

James Elphinston, the first Lord *Balmerino* above-mentioned, was bred to the Law by his Father, but his Abilities were not confined to that Study; but King *James* finding him an able Statesman made him Secretary of State, and President to the Court of Session.

Concerning this Lord we have the following Relation; That although he was a professed Protestant, yet, upon some Motive unknown, he often pressed the King to write a

Letter of Compliment to the Pope, which his Majesty refused to do; whereupon my Lord wrote the Letter, and bringing the King several Dispatches to sign at a Time when his Majesty was in Haste to go a Hunting, thrust it in among the rest, and the King through Hurry signed it; the Letter thus signed, was sent away, and no more was heard of it, 'till some Years after Cardinal *Bellarmino* mentioning it to the King's Disadvantage, his Majesty was obliged to take Notice of it, to question the Secretary, and bring him to a Trial, for High Treason, *March 10, 1609, at St. Andrew's in Scotland*, where he was condemned; but the King, after a short Imprisonment, pardoned him, and restored his Blood and Estate.

This Lord married to his first Wife *Sarah*, Daughter to Sir *John Monteith* of *Cars*, by whom he had *John* his Heir. His second Wife was, *Margery*, Daughter of *Hugh Maxwell* of *Tyling*, by whom he had one Son, *James*, created Lord *Cowper*, and a Daughter married to Lord *Frazer*.

John, the second Lord *Balmerino*, was every Way equal to his Father in great Parts, and had an universal Knowledge of Men and Letters, but was one of the most violent Covenanting Chiefs against King *Charles I.* He was tried *Dec. 3, 1634*, in the 10th Year of *Charles's* Reign, for a Libel against the

the King, which, according to the Laws of *Scotland*, at that Time, was Death, and found Guilty. But upon his solemn Protestation of Loyalty for the future, the King was pleased to pardon him, which Pardon he received on his Knees before the Council of *Edinburgh*.

He married *Anne*, Daughter to *James Kerr* of *Kersland*, and Sister to the famous *Kerr*, Earl of *Somerset*, the great Favourite of *James VI*. He left Issue one Son named

John, the third Lord *Balmerino*, who lived retired from Court, upon the Patrimony of the Family: He married *Anne*, Daughter to *John Campbell*, Earl of *Loudon*; and by her had Issue

John, fourth Lord *Balmerino*, who, in the Reign of *Queen Anne*, was made General of her Mint, and Sheriff of the County of *Edinburgh*; and in the Year 1713, was elected one of the sixteen Peers, to represent the Peerage of *Scotland* in the Parliament of *Great Britain*. He had to his first Wife *Christian*, Daughter of *Hugh Montgomery*, Earl of *Eglington*, by whom he had two Sons, and one Daughter; *Hugh*, the Eldest, was killed at the Siege of *Lisle*. His second Wife was Daughter of *Arthur Ross*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, by whom
he

he had two Sons and one Daughter, *James* the Eldest succeeded him, and

Arthur, the Melancholy Subject of this Relation. He was born, as before-mentioned at *Leith*, in the Year 1688, and trained up, when young, at the High School in the same Town. He made no great Proficiency in other Parts of Learning, but wrote so excellent a Hand, that he once, if not twice, won the Gold Pen, that was the Prize of that Scholar who wrote the fairest and best. While a Boy he was remarkable and beloved for his Affability and good Nature, for he would converse with the same Freedom with any poor Man in the Place, as with a Gentleman of the highest Rank; and would oftentimes pinch his own Pocket, in its slender Allowance, to do Acts of Charity to others. This Benevolence of Temper also shewed itself in that Persons oftentimes who had any Demands upon his Father, would apply to Mr. *Arthur*, and he seldom failed of bringing them their Money.

He was of a robust Constitution, active, and particularly dextrous in Swimming: He used to go almost every Day at High Water to the great River (or rather a Branch of the Sea) that runs by the Gardens of *Sheriff Crane*, of *Leith*, a Mile from *Edinburgh*, and would frequently swim from thence through the Harbour quite into the Sea,

Sea, as far as the Land-Mark, which is above a Mile from the Pier-Head ; and being so well beloved, most of the People in the Town would shew a great Concern for him, lest he should be drowned.

His Brother, the late Lord *Balmerino*, who was a Man of stedfast Revolution Principles, obtained a Commission for him, under his late Majesty King *George I.* and he had the Command of a Company, when the last Rebellion broke out in the Year 1715, and behaved bravely at the Battle of *Sheriff-Muir* ; but before the Battle, a great Field Officer, having some Suspicion of his Loyalty, examined him thereon ; he told his Grace, he would be true to his Trust, and that he should find himself deceived by his future Behaviour ; which was very true indeed, for no Officer behaved more gallantly, but as soon as the Battle was over he went to the Duke of *Argyll*, and told him, as he came off alive it saved him from Perdition, for if he had at that Time been killed, he should have died in a bad Cause, and thereupon immediately delivered up his Commission to his Grace, begged to be excused from any farther Service, and took Leave in an handsome Manner, going over to the Side of the Rebels ; but when they were dispersed, he went into *Denmark*, where he continued till the general Act of Indemnity passed

passed, from which he was not excepted. About the Year 1722, he went to *Leith*, when there was a Regiment of Soldiers in that Town, and although he was there for above two Months, so well was he beloved, that no Man offered to lay hold on him, or so much as inform against him. He then returned to *Denmark*, and went to *France*, where it is supposed he laid some Foundation for his late Design, by the Acquaintance he made there.

The Lord *Balmerino*, his Brother, having married a Lady by whom he could expect no Children on Account of her Age, that the Estate might not go into another Family, petitioned his present Majesty to give Leave for this *Arthur* to come home; and his Majesty was so gracious as to pardon all his past Offences, which is certainly a great Aggravation of his late Crime.

Upon his Return, about nine Years since, he married an agreeable young Gentlewoman, Mrs. *Margaret Chambers*, Daughter to *John Chambers*, Esq; of *Cogger*, about three Miles from *Leith*, at whose House he lodged after his Return to *Scotland*; but he afterwards went to the House of one Mrs. *Campbell*, of *Montonball*, near *Musselborough*, where he continued till he attended the young Pretender in his late Expedition. Upon hearing of which his Brother, the Lord *Balmerino*, then
yet

yet living, was so exasperated, that he made over all his Estate, by Deed of Assignment to — *Elphinston*, Esq; that no Part of it might come to this Gentleman, by whose Behaviour it was not likely to continue long in the Family.

The late Lord *Balmerino*, who was a Gentleman of great Worth and Honour, died but about a Year and Half ago without Issue, so that the Title came to the unfortunate and ill-judging Gentleman, who lately suffered for his Rashness and Folly.

We do not find much said of him, during the Time of the late unnatural Rebellion till he was taken Prisoner by his Majesty's Troops under the Command of his Royal Highness the *Duke*, after the Battle of *Culloden*, fought on the 16th of *April*, 1746.

He was brought to *London* and committed Prisoner to the *Tower*, with the Earls of *Kilmarnock* and *Cromertie*, condemned with him: The Lady *Balmerino* soon followed him, and taking Lodgings in *East-Smithfield* to be near him, attended him constantly in his Confinement.

On *Monday*, *July* 23, 1746, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice *Lee*, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice *Willes*, Sir *Martin Wright*, Sir *Thomas Abney*, Sir *James Reynolds*, and Mr. Baron *Clive*, came to the Town-Hall on *St. Margaret's Hill*, in *Southwark*,

wark, and opened their Special Commission for the Trials of the Rebels; when the Lord Chief Justice of the *King's Bench* gave a most learned and excellent Charge to the Grand Inquest; who thereupon withdrew to the *Three-Tuns* Tavern on *St. Margaret's Hill*, and found Bills for High Treason against *William* Earl of *Kilmarnock*, *George* Earl of *Cromertie*, and *Arthur* Lord *Balmerino*.

The three Indictments against the Lords being drawn up, a *Certiorari* was awarded out of *Chancery* to remove the Indictments, in order to their Trials by their Peers; and before the Return of that Writ his Majesty was pleased to appoint *Philip* Lord *Hardwicke*, the Lord High Chancellor, to be Lord High Steward for the Trials of the said Peers: And then the Lord High Steward directed a Precept under his Seal to the Commissioners, to certify the Indictments were found, and on what Day.

The same being certify'd by the Commissioners in the Special Commission named, that the Indictment was found in *Surry*, the Lord High Steward moved the House to know what Day their Lordships would try the Rebel Peers. Thereupon some Debate arose in the House, whether these three Peers could be try'd by Indictment, it being the first Precedent; for the Earl *Granville* said,
it

it was an Innovation and Infringement upon the Privileges of the House of Commons to impeach: But this Debate soon ended, because there is an Act of Parliament now in Force made in the 7th of *William III.* that says, Any Peer or Peers may be try'd by Indictment as well as Information.

Then the House came to a Resolution to proceed to the Trials of the Rebel Peers on *Monday* the 28th of *July*, 1746. A Precept being accordingly directed to the Lord *Cornwallis*, Constable and Lieutenant of the Tower, to bring the Bodies of the Prisoners, that Day, to *Westminster-Hall*; at Eight of the Clock in the Morning they were carried in three Coaches in the following Order:

In the first Coach was the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, attended by Lieutenant General *Williamson*, Deputy Governor of the Tower, and the Captain of the Guard. In the 2d Coach was the Earl of *Cromertie*, attended by Captain *Marshal*; and in the third Coach was the Lord *Balmerino*, attended by Mr. *Fowler*, Gentleman Goaler, who had the Ax lying before him on the Seat of the Coach.

Upon the same Day the Lord High Steward went in the following Procession to *Westminster-Hall*, to try them.

At

At Eight in the Morning, the Judges in their Robes, with Garter King at Arms, the Usher of the Black Rod, and the Serjeant at Arms, waited on his Grace, at his House in *Ormond-Street*; Garter in his Coat of the King's Arms, Black Rod having the White Staff, and the Serjeant at Arms his Mace: The three last waited in an Apartment, while the Judges went to the Lord High Steward to pay their Compliments.

After a short Stay his Grace came to the Coach in the following Order:

His Grace's Twenty Gentlemen, two and two, uncovered.

His Serjeant at Arms and Seal Bearer, both uncovered, one with his Mace, the other with the Purse.

The Black-Rod, with the Lord High Steward's Staff, and Garter, King at Arms, on his Right Hand, in his Coat of Arms, both uncovered.

His Grace the Lord High Steward, in his rich Gown, his Train borne, followed by the Chief Justices and Judges.

He seated himself on the hinder Seat of the Coach singly, Garter and the Seal Bearer, on the other Seat over against him, uncovered. The Black Rod in the Right Hand Side Boot, with his Grace's White Staff, and his Grace's Serjeant at Arms in the Left Hand Boot with the Mace.

Ten

Ten Footmen walked bare-headed, five on each Side the Coach.

His Grace's Gentlemen went in five leading Coaches, and the Judges followed his Grace in their own Coaches; as did the Master of the Rolls, and the Masters in Chancery. Being come to the House of Peers, the Mace was deposited upon the uppermost Woolfack, and his Grace passed on to the Lord Chancellor's Room; but the Staff was not brought within the House of Peers.

His Grace having stay'd there a while, came into the House again, and Prayers began. Then the Peers were called over, Garter or his Deputy being allowed to come to the Clerks Table to make a List, at the same Time, of the Peers present; which done, the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod being sent to see that the Court in *Westminster Hall*, and the Passages to it were clear, and giving an Account to the House that they were so, they proceeded towards *Westminster-Hall* as follows:

His Grace the Lord High Steward's Gentlemen Attendants, two and two. Four Clerks of the House, two and two. The two Clerks of the Crown, bearing the Commission of the Lord High Steward. Masters in Chancery, two and two. Attorney General. Peers eldest Sons. Peers Minors.

nors. Four Serjeants at Arms with their Maces, two and two. The Yeoman Usher of the House of Peers. The Peers in their Robes, according to their Degrees and Precedency, two and two, the youngest Barons first, all covered. Four Serjeants at Arms more, with their Maces, two and two. His Grace's Seal Bearer and Serjeant at Arms. The Deputy Black Rod and Garter. The Lord High Steward alone, with his Train borne.

The Lords being seated on their Benches, and the Judges and Masters in Chancery below in their Seats; the Lord High Steward making a Reverence to the State, and saluting the Peers, seated himself on the Woolfack, as Speaker of the House of Lords.

The two Clerks of the Crown being ready at the Clerks Table, and the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, having the King's Commission to his Grace in his Hand, both made three Reverences to him, and at the third, coming before the Woolfack, kneeled down, and the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, on his Knee, presented the Commission to his Grace, who deliver'd it to the Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench; and they making three Reverences, returned to the Clerks Table: The Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench opened the Commission and read it, having first directed his Grace's Ser-

jeant

jeant at Arms to make Proclamation for Silence, which he did with his Mace upon his Shoulder.

While the Commission was reading, his Grace and the Lords stood up, all uncovered; after which his Grace making Obeysance, re-seated himself, and then Garter and Black Rod, with three Reverences, jointly presented the White Staff on their Knees to his Grace; and being fully invested in his Office, he, with the White Staff in his Hand, removed from the Woolfack to the Chair placed for him, on an Ascent before the Throne, and sat down.

At *Westminster-Hall* Gate the Prisoners were received by General *Folliott*, and the Axe was carried before them with the Edge from them. Proclamation being made in the Court for the Lord Lieutenant of the Tower of *London* to return the Precept to him directed, with the Bodies of the Prisoners: Which done, the Gentleman Goaler of the Tower brought his Prisoners to the Bar; and the Proclamation was made for the King's Evidence to come forth, the King's Counsel, Mr. Premier Serjeant *Skinner*, Mr. Attorney, and Sollicitor-General, Sir *John Strange*, and Sir *Richard Lloyd*, by his Grace's Direction, opened the Indictment: Then his Grace moved the House, that he might advance forwards for the better hear-

ing the Evidence, and his Chair was accordingly moved forwards into the Court.

The Earls of *Kilmarnock* and *Cromertie* both pleaded Guilty: After which the Lord *Balmerino* being brought to the Bar, he pleaded Not Guilty; alledging, that he was not at *Carlisle* at the Time specified in the Indictment, being at the Time when that City was taken 11 Miles from thence; and then the King's Counsel proceeded to call their Witnesses to support the Charge against the Prisoner, four of whom were examined, and deposed as follows:

The first Witness swore, that he saw the Lord *Balmerino*, the Prisoner at the Bar, ride into *Carlisle* on a Bay Horse, the Day after it was taken by the Rebels; that he saw him ride up to the Market-place with his Sword drawn at the Head of his Troop of Horse, which was the Second Troop of the Pretender's Son's Body Guards, called *Elphinston's* Horse. This Witness farther deposed, that he saw his Lordship very active with the other Rebel Officers in the City of *Carlisle*, when the Pretender's Son was proclaimed Regent, he having his Sword drawn at the Head of his Troop.

Another Witness proved, that he saw his Lordship ride into *Manchester* at the Head of his Troop, and was there when the Pretender's Son was proclaimed Regent; and the

the said Troop was the second Troop of the Pretender's Body Guard, and was called *Elphinston's Troop of Horse*.

Two other Witnesses proved, That his Lordship was called Colonel of his Troop; that he acted always in that Station, gave Orders on all Occasions to his Officers: And they farther deposed, that his Lordship was in several Places on the Road where the Rebels marched, at the Head of his Troop, and was in great Esteem with the young Pretender.

The Prisoner asking neither of the Evidences any Questions, the Counsel for the King here rested their Proof. Then his Grace the Lord High Steward asked the Prisoner, if he could offer any thing in his Defence, or would call any Witnesses who could invalidate what had been proved upon him by the Witnesses on his Majesty's Behalf.

To this he reply'd, he was sorry that he had given their Lordships so much Trouble, and had nothing more to say, only that as he was not at *Carlisle* at the Time the Rebels took Possession of it, and the Indictment charging him with being at *Carlisle* expressly at that Time, he could not be guilty of that Indictment.

A Motion was then made by a noble Peer, that the Court might adjourn to the House of Lords; which they did accordingly; and,
after

after many Debates there, they came to a Resolution that the Opinion of the learned Judges should be taken on the Point which the Prisoner had objected to in regard to the Indictment. Then the Lord High Steward and the Lords being returned into the Court in *Westminster-Hall*, the Point in Question was put to the Judges, who were all of Opinion, that as an Overt-Act of High-Treason, and other Acts of Treason, had been proved beyond Contradiction, there was no Occasion to prove explicitly all that was laid in the Indictment; so that the Prisoner's Objection was no way material, but that the Indictment was a good Indictment, and that so far of it had been proved as the Law requires to convict any Person of High-Treason.

Then Proclamation for Silence was made, when the Lord High Steward calling the Peers by their Names, one by one, and beginning with the youngest Baron, asked him;

Whether Arthur Lord Balmerino was guilty of the High Treason of which he stood indicted, or not guilty?

The Baron standing up, uncovered, put his Hand on his Right Breast, and said, *Guilty upon my Honour.*

All the rest of the Peers declared the Prisoner guilty of High-Treason in the same Manner.

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After the Prisoner had been found guilty of the Indictment, the other two Lords, [the Earls of *Kilmarnock* and *Cromertie*] were brought into Court, and set to the Bar with Lord *Balmerino*, when his Grace the Lord Steward informed them, That if either of them had any thing to move in Arrest of Judgment, their Lordships must come prepared the *Wednesday* following, at 11 of the Clock in the Morning, and lay their Objections before the Court, or Judgment of Death would be awarded against them.

After which they were carried back to the Tower in Coaches, and the Axe, which was in the Coach with Lord *Balmerino*, had the Edge towards him.

On *Wednesday July 30*, the Lord *Balmerino*, with the other Two Prisoners were brought again from the Tower into Court: And the Lord High Steward came in the usual Manner into *Westminster-Hall*. The Lords having taken their Places, and the Lord High Steward being in the Chair, before the Throne, the Prisoners were brought to the Bar, and Proclamation made for Silence.

After which the Lord High Steward acquainted the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, that, as he had thought proper to plead Guilty to the Indictment against him, he had thereby confessed the several High Crimes and Treasons

sons in the said Indictment mentioned; and therefore he desired to know, what his Lordship had to say, why Judgment of Death should not be passed on him.

The Earl then addressing himself to the House, made a Speech, which we shall give the Reader when we come to the particular Account of that Lord.

When Lord *Balmerino* was called upon to know what he could say, why Judgment of Death should not be awarded against him according to Law.

His Lordship, directing himself to the Lord High Steward, produced a Paper, and desired it might be read. The Lord High Steward told his Lordship, he was at Liberty to read it, if he pleased; but the Prisoner reply'd, his Voice was too low, and that he could not read it so well to be understood as he could wish: On which the Lord High Steward gave Orders for one of the Clerks of the Parliament to go near the Bar to the Prisoner, and read the Paper aloud, so that their Lordships and the Prisoner might hear the Contents: And the Clerk having received the Paper he read it standing just within the Bar by the Prisoner; which Paper was to the following Purport:

That the Indictment was founded on an Act of Parliament made the last Session, by which Prisoners tried for High Treason, committed

mitted in the late Rebellion, were to be tried in such County as his Majesty should appoint; but that the Treason, with which the Prisoner is charged, is assigned to be committed at *Carlisle*, where he ought to have been indicted, and not in *Surry*, because the Treason was committed before the passing the said Act; and therefore, that the Prisoner could not be affected by it, and consequently, that the whole Superstructure built thereon must necessarily fall to the Ground. The Prisoner therefore pray'd their Lordships to assign him Counsel to be heard on that Head.

Then the Earl *Granville* moved, that the Lords would adjourn to their own House in order to consider of what the Prisoner had offered.

The Prisoners were then removed from the Bar, and the Lords went to their own House, where they debated the Matter for about an Hour and Half, and then returned to the Court in *Westminster-Hall* in the usual Form, and being seated the Prisoners were again called to the Bar: When the Lord High Steward asked the Lord *Balmerino*, if he required to have Counsel to speak to the Point which his Lordship had before proposed, and the Lord *Balmerino* answering, *Yes, he did require it*; then the Lord High Steward told his Lordship, that he was ordered by the Lords to acquaint him,

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that

that they agreed to his Request, and desired him to name the Counsel he would have them appoint for him. Upon which he named Mr. *Wilbrabam* and Mr. *Forrester*; which the Lord High Steward told him the Court agreed to, and appointed the *Friday Morning* following, the 1st of *August*, to have the Point argued, when the King's Counsel would attend. Then the Prisoners were taken from the Bar, and the Court adjourned. The Prisoners were carried back to the Tower, and the Axe in the same Manner as before.

On the First of *August*, the Lord High Steward being come down, and the Lords being met in their own House, they went from thence in the usual Form, to the Court in *Westminster-Hall*; where being seated and Proclamation made for the Constable of the *Tower* to bring his Prisoners to the Bar, he brought them in accordingly. Then the Lord High Steward asked Lord *Balmerino*, if he was ready by his Counsel to argue the Point which he had proposed to the Court the *Wednesday* before? To which Lord *Balmerino* reply'd, that his Counsel had advised him, that there was nothing in his Objection sufficient to found an Arrest of Judgment upon; and therefore he withdrew it, and humbly craved their Lordships Pardon for giving them so much Trouble,

alledging,

alleging, that he thought it was the Duty of every Christian to preserve Life as long as he could, and then submitted himself to the Court. The other two Lords doing the same; after Proclamation was made for Silence, the Lord High Steward made a most eloquent Speech, wherein he shewed, The Excellence and Happiness of our present Constitution, the Blessings we enjoy under his Majesty's Reign, who is a Prince celebrated through the World for his mild and gracious Government. The Wickedness of the Attempt to over-turn such a Government, and the evil Consequences of it, even to all *Europe*; as well as ourselves. He shewed on how weak and unpromising Prospects they engaged in this unnatural Rebellion, and how much, on the other Side, his Majesty's faithful Subjects contended who should out-do one another in Demonstrations of their Zeal and Vigour in his Service. He said, that the Rebels soon saw many of the Nobility and Gentry, from amongst the first Families, the greatest Estates, and the best Blood in the Kingdom, surrounding the Throne, soliciting to be permitted to hazard their Lives in this glorious Cause, and to be authorized at their own Expence, to raise Forces for its Support. But above all, they saw both Houses of Parliament, the great Council of the Nation, the Representative Body of this

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People,

People, warmed with a truly *British* Spirit, and treading in the Steps of their Ancestors, over-coming all Difficulties, and unanimously concurring in every Measure to strengthen the King's Hands, and to maintain that Government, on which the very Being of Parliaments, and the Preservation of this limited Monarchy depend.

To these judicious Reflections, his Lordship added the following. If these Enemies of our Peace had formed to themselves Hopes of contrary Appearances, it must be owing to the highest Degree of Infatuation, that they were not soon convinced of their Mistake. Great Reason have we to offer up our Thanks to Heaven, that they have been effectually disappointed. Even your Lordships, said he, if you will allow yourselves to weigh your own Case in the just Balance of Religion and Conscience, will find Cause to be thankful, that the Measure of your Guilt was not suffered to be filled up and enhanced by the final direful Success of it. If, from any unforeseen Accidents, not uncommon in military Operations, those delusive Hopes were for some Time kept alive, it seems to have been judicially designed by Providence to render more signal that Vengeance, which was reserved for them at the Battle of *Culloden*. How much was owing on that memorable Day, to the Bravery and
Discipline

Discipline of his Majesty's Troops, to the animating Example, the intrepid Valour, and the wise Conduct of a Prince, descended from him, is so deeply engraven in the Hearts of this great Assembly, that nothing could be said, but what would be a Repetition of what their own grateful Minds had suggested to themselves, and represented to the Throne. Then was experienced how much that Courage, which Virtue, true Loyalty, and the Love of our Country inspires, is superior to the Rashness and false Fire of Rebellion, accompanied with the Terrors of Guilt.

His Grace concluded with observing, that it was his Majesty's Justice to bring their Lordships to a legal Trial; and it was his Wisdom to shew, that, as a small Part of his national Forces was sufficient to subdue the Rebel Army in the Field, so the ordinary Course of the Laws was strong enough to bring even their Chiefs to Justice.

His Grace, the Lord High Steward, then pronounced the Judgment, which the Law required, and which that High Court awarded, *viz.*

That you, *William* Earl of *Kilmarnock*,
George Earl of *Cromertie*, and *Arthur*
 Lord *Balmerino*, and every of you, return
 to the Prison of the *Tower* from whence

you came; from thence you must be drawn to the Place of Execution; when you come there, you must be hanged by the Neck, but not till you are dead; for you must be cut down alive; then your Bowels must be taken out, and burnt before your Faces; then your Heads must be severed from your Bodies, and your Bodies must be divided each into four Quarters; and these must be at the KING's Disposal.

And God Almighty be merciful to your Souls.

Then the Prisoners were taken from the Bar, and the Lord High Steward standing up, he informed the Lords that all the Business was completed, which by his Commission he was to execute, and then his Grace took the White Rod in both his Hands, and broke it in two Pieces, and declared his Commission was at an End. He then asked the Lords, if it was their Pleasure to adjourn to the Chamber of Parliament, which they agreeing to, they returned in the same Order of Procession in which they came, the State only excepted.

The Lords Prisoners after taking Part of a cold Collation prepared for them, were conducted to their Coaches, the Axe being now carried with the Edge towards them,

as

as they proceeded to the *Tower*. They still preserved their Countenances, not betraying the least Signs of Dejection, and the Populace behaved with much Decency.

From the Time that Sentence passed upon him to the Time of his Execution Lord *Balmerino* shew'd no Tokens of Fear, nor had he any Hopes of a Pardon, for he said himself his Case was desperate being a *Relapse*, for he had been pardoned once before.

When his Lady expressed a great Concern for his approaching Fate, *Grieve not, my Dear*, said he, *we must all dye once, and this is but a few Years, very likely, before my Death must have happened some other Way; therefore wipe away your Tears, you may marry again, and get a better Husband.*

His Lady, whom he always called his *Peggy*, was at Dinner with him, when the Warrant came for his Execution, at which she being greatly concerned rose up from Table, *My dear Peggy*, said he, *sit down for this shan't spoil my Dinner; if the King had given me Mercy, I should have been glad of it, but since it is otherwise, I am very easy; for it is what I have expected, and therefore it does not at all surprize me.*

Some Days before his Execution being ask'd in what Manner he would go to the Scaffold? he answered, *He would go in the Regimentals which he wore when he was first*

first taken, and that he would have a Woollen Shirt next his Skin, which would serve him instead of a Shroud to be buried in. Being then ask'd, why he would not have a new Suit of Black? he reply'd, It would be thought very imprudent in a Man to repair an old House when the Lease of it was near expiring; for the Lease of his Life would expire next Monday.

Many quaint Stories are related concerning him, which seem to be the Growth of wanton, and fertile Imaginations, and which are too ludicrous to be reported at such a Time.

On *Monday*, the 18th, of *August*, about Six in the Morning, a Thousand of the Foot Guards, a Troop of Life-Guards, and one of Horse-Grenadiers, marched thro' the City to *Tower-Hill* to attend the Execution: And the same Morning the two Sheriffs of *Middlesex* and *London*, with their Officers, and the Executioner, went from the *Mitre-Tavern* in *Fenchurch-Street*, to the House hired by them on *Tower-Hill* for the said Lords.

At Ten o'th' Clock the Block was fixed on the Stage; soon after their Coffins were brought, covered with black Cloth, with gilt Nails, &c. On that for the Earl of *Kilmarnock* was a Plate with this Inscription, *Guilielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollatus 18 Augusti,*

gusti, 1746, *Ætat. suæ* 42. with an Earl's Coronet over it, and six Coronets over the six Handels; and on that for Lord *Balmerino* was a Plate with this Inscription, *Arthurus Dominus de Balmerino, decollatus* 18 *Augusti* 1746, *Ætat. suæ* 58. with a Baron's Coronet over it, and six others over the six Handles.

At half an Hour after Ten the Sheriffs went to the *Tower*, and after knocking some Time at the Gate, they were admitted, and the Prisoners, on their giving a Receipt, were delivered to them, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* saying, as is usual, *God bless King George*; to which the Earl of *Kilmarnock* assented by a Bow, and Lord *Balmerino* said, *God bless K. J-----s*, and soon after the Procession appeared in the following Order. 1. The Constables of the Tower Hamlets. 2. The Knight Marshal's Men and Tipstaves. 3. The Sheriffs Officers. 4. The Prisoners attended by their Chaplains, and the two Sheriffs. 5. The Warders of the *Tower*. 6. A Guard of Musqueteers. 7. Two Hearses and a Mourning Coach.

The two Lords had met each other at the Foot of the Stairs, and embraced, when Lord *Balmerino* greatly said to the other, *My Lord, I am heartily sorry to have your Company in this Expedition.*

When

When the Procession had passed thro' the Lines into the Area of the Circle, the Passage was closed, and the Horse that were in the Rear of the Foot on the Lines wheeled off, and drew up five deep behind the Foot, on the South Side of the Hill facing the Scaffold. The Lords were conducted to the House facing the Entrance on the Scaffold, [the late *Transport Office*] and, being put into separate Apartments, their Friends were admitted to see them. Just as they came to the Door of this House some Gentlemen among the Spectators were saying to one another, which is Lord *Balmerino*? which he hearing, said smiling, *I am Lord Balmerino, Gentlemen, at your Service.*

About Eleven of the Clock, the Lord *Balmerino* sent a Message to the Earl of *Kilmarnock* to desire an Interview with him, which being consented to, my Lord *Balmerino* after addressing himself to the other and thanking him for the Favour of that Conference, asked his Lordship, *if he knew of any Order being made before the Battle of Culloden, for Giving no Quarter to the Duke's Army, at the same Time declaring, That he himself knew nothing of any such Order.* To which the Lord *Kilmarnock* reply'd, *That he knew nothing of any such Order, but that since the Battle of Culloden he had been informed that there was some Order to that Effect,* sign'd

George

George Murray, and that it fell into the Hands of the Duke immediately after the Battle.

These Lords having saluted each other, Lord *Balmerino* bade the Lord *Kilmarnock* an eternal happy Adieu, and with a chearful Countenance added; *My dear Lord, I wish I could alone pay the Reckoning, and suffer for us both.*

The Earl of *Kilmarnock* was first carried out to his Execution, during which Time Lord *Balmerino* conversed chearfully with his Friends, and twice refreshed himself with a Bit of Bread and a Glas of Wine, desiring the Company to drink to him *ain degrae ta haiven.*

When the Under Sheriff went to give him Notice that his Time was come; *I suppose,* said he, *My Lord Kilmarnock is no more?* and having asked how the Executioner had performed his Duty, his Lordship, upon receiving the Account said, *then it was well done; and now, Gentlemen, I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract my Life.* His Lordship then saluted the Company in a chearful Manner, and hastened to the Scaffold, which he mounted with so undaunted a Step as surprized every Spectator, who was not acquainted with his great Courage.

He appeared on the Scaffold with the same Regimentals he wore at the *Battle of*

of *Culloden*, as he said he would, and so far was he from having the least Concern himself at the Fear of Death, that he frequently reproved his Friends that were about him for shewing any: His Lordship walked round the Scaffold, bowed to the People, read the Inscription on his Coffin, said it was right, and with seeming Pleasure looked at the Block, which he called his *Pillow of Rest*. He then pulled out his Spectacles, and read a Paper to the few about him, which he afterwards delivered to Mr Sheriff *Cockayne*, and which was said to contain some Justification of his own bad Cause, and some Reflections on the present happy Establishment.

Whatever could be said by such a Man, it is not likely would make any Impression on Persons of good Understanding, for tho' we cannot but admire his Personal Bravery, yet he was known to be a Man of no Reading. If he thought the Cause he died in a just one, he certainly acted very inconsistent with his Principles, to accept of a Commission under his late Majesty, and behave in the Gallant Manner he did, at the Battle of *Dumblaine*, in the Year, 1715, against the very Person he now espoused. On the other Hand, did he think his Majesty's Title a just one, no personal Affront, which was what was pretended, ought to have induced him to throw up his
Com-

Commission, at a Time when a Pretender to his Royal Master's Crown was then in Arms against him; and when his personal Courage might have been of great Service to his Country; much less could he be justified in joining that very Pretender, and, what was worse, in seducing his Men to embark in the same Cause, and for which, I am told, many of them suffered.

Lord *Balmerino* to the last professed his entire Ignorance of any Order for giving no Quarter to the Duke's Army; and added, *That he would not (knowingly) have acted under such an Order, because he looked upon it as unmilitary, and beneath the Character of a Soldier.*

It must be observed, that tho' his Lordship, from his unhappy political Principles, disowned any Allegiance to his Majesty, yet he, from his moral ones, acknowledged *Him to be a Prince of the greatest Magnanimity and Mercy.*

My Lord complained, that a certain great Officer in the *Tower* had not used him very well, and said, if he had not receiv'd the Holy Eucharist the Day before, and read several of *David's Psalms*, he should not have forgiven him; but as it was, he died in Charity with all Men.

My Lord then called for the Executioner, who being introduced to him, was about to ask

ask his Lordship's Pardon; but my Lord stopp'd him, and said, *Friend, you need not ask me Forgiveness, the Execution of your Duty is commendable*; his Lordship presenting the Executioner with three Guineas, said, *Friend, I never had much Money, this is all I have, I wish it was more for your Sake, and am sorry I can add nothing else to it, but my Coat and Waistcoat*; which he instantly took off, and placed on his Coffin.

He then prepared himself for the Block by putting on a Flannel Waistcoat that had been made for the Occasion, and a *Plaid Cap* upon his Head; after which he went to the Block, in order to shew the Executioner the *Signal for the Blow*, which was the *Dropping down of his Arms*.

His Lordship then returning to his Friends, took his last Farewel of them; and having once more taken a View of the great Number of Spectators, said, *I am afraid there are some who may think my Behaviour bold*, and speaking to a Gentleman near him, added, *Remember, Sir, what I tell you, it arises from a Confidence in God, and a clear Conscience*.

My Lord then observing the Executioner with the Axe in his Hand, took it from him, and having felt the Edge, returned it him again, at the same Time shewing him where to strike the Blow, and animating him to do



The Manner of the Execution

do it with Resolution, *for in that, Friend,* said he, *will consist your Mercy.*

His Lordship then, with the same undaunted Countenance, kneel'd down at the Block, and having his Arms extended, said this short Prayer, *O Lord, reward my Friends, forgive my Enemies, * * * * **, and receive my Soul; submitted and gave the Signal to the Executioner; but he was so terrified at his Lordship's Intrepidity, and the Suddenness of the Signal, that he was not able to take his Head off at the first Blow, tho' it is to be hoped he deprived him of all Sensation; after the first Stroke, his Lordship's Head fell back upon his Shoulders, and being afterwards severed at two more gentle Blows, was received in a Piece of red Bays, and with his Body deposited in his Coffin, which being put into a Hearse was carried to the Chapel of the Tower, and buried with Lord *Kilmarnock's*, near the Remains of the Lord *Tullibardin*, who died a Prisoner in the Tower some short Time before.

Mr. *Humphreys*, Curate of the Chapel, read the Service; and pronouncing that Part of it, where it says, *Ashes to Ashes, Dust to Dust*, two Gentlemen, Friends of the Deceased, took up the Spades, and performed that Part of the Office instead of the Grave-diggers.

It was observed by a Gentleman in Conversation with his Lordship, That it rarely happened, but the boldest of Men when living, generally meet Death with a remarkable Tremor and Fear: His Lordship reply'd, He was not surpris'd that those Men, whose seeming Intrepidity proceeded from their being harden'd in Vice, should meet Death with Terror and Fear; but on the contrary, if a Man acted up to the immediate Dictates of his Conscience, he could not believe such Man could die otherways than intrepid; for, said he, do you believe Sir *Thomas More* would have dy'd with a Joke in his Mouth, if he had not looked upon Death in itself as a meer Joke, and nothing else. It is not Death, says he, that either gives to, or takes from a Man that Happiness and Reward which he may expect from Good Actions, and a strict Adherence to Truth. A Man may be mistaken in Particulars, yet if he thinks himself right in his own Conscience, he dies like an honest Man, and meets Death with Pleasure.

*The following is a Letter sent to the Lord
BALMERINO, during the Time he lay
under Sentence of Death in the Tower,
by the Reverend Mr. HUMPHREYS,
one of the Clergymen appointed to attend
him.*

“ **T** H E Address I here take the Li-
“ berty to make you, proceeds from
“ no other Motive than Christian Charity;
“ if any Thing I can offer to your Lord-
“ ship’s Consideration should be suitable to
“ your Circumstances, I hope you will be
“ pleas’d to accept it, how meanly soever
“ it is perform’d, with the same Charity that
“ I have design’d it.

“ My Lord, I am sincerely concern’d for
“ your melancholy Situation; but, at the
“ same Time give me Leave to observe, that
“ it is the Fruit of your own Choice, the
“ natural Consequence of your late unhappy
“ Conduct: But this being a Subject of too
“ tender a Nature to expatiate on (as pre-
“ suming you are by this Time thoroughly
“ convinc’d of the Unjustifiableness of your
“ Attempt, and the Malignity of your Crime)
“ I willingly pass it over, in order to make
E “ room

“ room for other Considerations more befit-
 “ ting your present Condition.

“ As you are now most justly under the
 “ Sentence of the Law, it is by no means
 “ my Design to add greater Weight to the
 “ Afflictions you feel, but rather to contri-
 “ bute my Endeavours to alleviate your
 “ Burden, and to assist you to bear it with
 “ becoming Decency and Fortitude.

“ In order to which, it will be proper
 “ for you to lay down this as a fixed Prin-
 “ ciple in your Mind, that there is a wise,
 “ just, and good God that governs the
 “ World; that whatever befalls any of
 “ us, (even the severest of our Sufferings,)
 “ is either procured or permitted by his
 “ Providence; and consequently, tho’, upon
 “ the Account of our Imperfection, we per-
 “ ceive not always the Justice and Equity
 “ of it, must be right, must be best upon
 “ the whole: If you are once thoroughly
 “ persuaded of this Truth, you’ll not find
 “ it so difficult a Matter to conform your
 “ Mind to the Will of Providence, and
 “ to be in some Measure satisfy’d with your
 “ Condition.

“ There is no Duty in Religion more
 “ generally agreed on, nor more justly re-
 “ quir’d by Almighty God, than a per-
 “ fect Submission to his Will in all Things,
 “ nor is there any Disposition of Mind that
 “ can

“ can either please him more, or become
 “ us better, than that of being satisfied
 “ with all his wise Dispensations: Be-
 “ sides, if we attend to the present State
 “ of Things, and the various Contingencies
 “ of human Life, a Confidence in God,
 “ Resignation to his Will, and Patience
 “ under his Afflictions, are Virtues neces-
 “ sary for all Men; but more particularly
 “ so for Persons under your Circumstances:
 “ You, my Lord, are now call’d forth to
 “ exercise these Heroic Virtues, to signa-
 “ lize yourself, and to act the Part of a
 “ Man and a Christian in a more parti-
 “ cular Manner: You have now an Op-
 “ portunity of shewing a noble Example of
 “ Patience and Fortitude under your Suf-
 “ ferings, and of wiping off some of the
 “ Blemishes of your Life by a decent and
 “ Christian Behaviour at your Death.

“ My Lord, the World allows you to
 “ have a great Share of Intrepidity and
 “ Resolution; and therefore as you find
 “ yourself already furnish’d with sufficient
 “ Strength of Mind to bear you up under
 “ all Extremities, you’ll perhaps look up-
 “ on this Part of my Letter to be unne-
 “ cessary and impertinent: But, my Lord,
 “ it is a serious Thing to die; were there
 “ no more in Death than the momentary
 “ Pains of dying, there would be no such

“ mighty Matter in submitting to its Stroke;
 “ But when, as Christians, we consider the
 “ Consequences of this great Revolution of
 “ Nature, that Eternity we shall then be
 “ fix’d in, and the different Portions of Men
 “ in another State, according to their dif-
 “ ferent Behaviour in this, to die, consider-
 “ ed in this Light, is a Thing of no small
 “ Concern and Importance.

“ What then must be done to disarm this
 “ King of Terrors, and to make this Pe-
 “ riod of our Life easy and supportable?
 “ Not the proud Boastings of a false and
 “ ignorant Security, not the Force of un-
 “ seasonable Mirth and Humour, nor the
 “ more rash and daring Contempt of Fu-
 “ turity can afford us any solid and well-
 “ grounded Comfort. Religion is the only
 “ Thing that is capable of affording us
 “ Relief at the Hour of Death, from thence
 “ we must derive all our Succours in the
 “ Day of our Distress. For since we are
 “ all Sinners, and consequently subject to
 “ Death, true Repentance takes out its
 “ Sting, and frees us from its Terror. No
 “ Man meets Death with becoming Reso-
 “ lution, that is not in some Measure pre-
 “ pared for it.

“ My Lord, I am a Stranger to your Life
 “ and Conversation, but am charitably in-
 “ clined to hope that you have made some
 “ timely

“ timely Provision for another State ; and
 “ have not, as too many do, put off the
 “ great Work of Life to the End of it ;
 “ this is best known to God and your own
 “ Conscience : However, upon the most
 “ favourable Supposition, it would be Mad-
 “ ness at this Time, not to do all that
 “ can be done to complete your Repent-
 “ ance, and to make your Salvation sure.

“ You now tread upon the Confines of
 “ Eternity, no Time is to be lost, no Mo-
 “ ments are to be misemploy’d : It con-
 “ cerns you therefore to deal impartially
 “ and sincerely with yourself, and not to
 “ deceive your Soul in a Matter of such
 “ vast and infinite Moment as its eternal
 “ State.

“ Your present Confinement, how grie-
 “ vous soever it is to your Body, may be of
 “ no small Advantage to your Soul : It gives
 “ you an Opportunity of abstracting your
 “ Mind from the World, of looking into
 “ yourself, and reflecting upon your past
 “ Conduct ; you now see the Folly of all
 “ the various Schemes and Pursuits of your
 “ former Life ; Honour, Pleasure and Power
 “ are now mean and contemptible in your
 “ Eyes ; and you are by this Time suffi-
 “ ciently convinc’d, that all Things below are
 “ Vanity and Vexation : In a Word, you
 “ now see Things as they really are in them-
 “ selves

“ selves, and value them at no higher Rate
 “ than their true and intrinsic Worth.

“ Permit me then to advise you, as a sincere Well-wisher to your immortal Soul,
 “ to shew a noble Specimen of the Contempt of the World; and its paltry Enjoyments, to place your Affections on Things
 “ above, and not on Things below ; and to have your Heart fix'd there, where you
 “ expect your Treasure. The present Life is short and transitory, but, short as it is,
 “ sufficiently long for the Evils thereof ; in this World we are Strangers and Sojourners,
 “ station'd only for a While in a State of Trial, and travelling, as it were, thro' a strange Country, to our proper Home,
 “ for here we have no continuing City, but we seek one to come : Since then God,
 “ out of Mercy to us, did not design this troublesome World for our perpetual Abode,
 “ it will be your Wisdom and mine to prepare ourselves for that blissful and eternal
 “ State where true Joys are to be found.

“ In the mean Time let it be your Endeavour to resign yourself up to God's wise
 “ and just Disposal, and to possess your Soul in Patience for a little while, and fortify
 “ your Mind with Courage, since you see Land ; the Storm you are in will soon be
 “ over, and Death will land you on the happy Shore of Peace and Tranquillity :
 There

“ There, as *Job* elegantly expresses it, *The*
 “ *Wicked cease from troubling, and there the*
 “ *Weary be at Rest; there the Prisoners rest*
 “ *together; they hear not the Voice of the Op-*
 “ *pressor; the Small and Great are there,*
 “ *and the Servant is free from his Master.*

“ I have, perhaps, by this long Letter in-
 “ terrupted your own more useful Medita-
 “ tions; I shall therefore take my Leave of
 “ you, and commend you to the Father of
 “ Mercies and the God of all Consolation;
 “ beseeching him, out of his infinite Com-
 “ passion, and thro’ the Merits of *Jesus*
 “ *Christ*, to supply to you the Want of the
 “ usual Measures of Time, and Periods of
 “ Repentance, to grant that your Punish-
 “ ment may be only in this World, and
 “ your Pardon seal’d in the next; to give
 “ you Hope in your Death, and a Portion
 “ in his heavenly Kingdom. These are the
 “ Affectionate and Hearty Prayers of

My LORD,

Your Lordship’s Sincere Well-Wisher,

And most obedient Servant,

Tower, Aug.

9, 1746.

C. HUMPHREYS.

Were

Were we to draw this unfortunate Noble's man's Character, abstracted from the Consideration of his being an Enemy to the present happy Government, we should call him a blunt resolute Man; who would, if his Principles had not been tainted with *Jacobitism*, have appeared honest in the Eyes of those who love Sincerity; but he was not so happy as to be loyal. His Person was plain, his Shape clumsy, but his Make strong. He had no Marks about him of the polite Gentleman, though his seeming Sincerity recompensed all those Defects. He was illiterate considering his Birth, but rather from a total Want of Application to Letters, than Want of Ability.

His last Behaviour on the Scaffold, was undoubtedly intrepid; but such an Intrepidity would have seemed more justifiable in a Man at the Head of his Regiment in the Field, or just ready to enter a Breach, than in one in his Situation, how much soever he might be satisfied of his own Conduct. To affect to brave Death, at such a Time, could shew no true Decorum; and, as a late * Writer says, to manifest no Concern, where the Consequence is so awful, and the Stake infinite, is in some Degree unbecoming, even in the best of Men; not to fear at all, where

* Mr. Foster.

where there is great Reason to fear, is altogether as absurd, as to be extremely dejected and pusillanimous where there is ground of Hope. But we have before given my Lord's Sentiments on this Subject. And those who were well acquainted with him, say, he was endued with stedfast Principles of Religion, and had a great Regard for the Holy Scriptures, which he has been often known to defend with a true Christian Spirit and Zeal, against such wilful Unbelievers, as are too commonly found in the present Age.

He was a true Lover of solid Friendship, and if he happened, at any Time, to do or say, thro' Inadvertency, any Thing that might give Umbrage, no Person was more ready to acknowledge a Fault, and make immediate Satisfaction for it. He was an indulgent Husband to a very deserving Lady, whom he has left inconsolable, but had no Children.

My Lord's Estate was but small, tho' he was Ground-Landlord, and Lord of the Manor of *Colcon*, a long Street in the Suburbs of *Edinburgh*, leading to *Leith*, and had also some other small Possessions in the Shire of *Fife*.



Earl of Kilmarnock Aged 42.

T H E
L I F E
O F

William Earl of Kilmarnock,

From the Time of his BIRTH to that of
his EXECUTION.

W I T H

The Proceedings against him; his Behaviour on, and
after, his Trial; and his *Last Dying Words* at the
Time of his being beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, *August*
the 18th, 1746.



L O N D O N:

Printed for C. WHITEFIELD, in *White-Fryers*,
Fleet-Street. MDCCLXVI.

THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

BY JAMES OSGOOD SMITH

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS DEATH
IN 1790

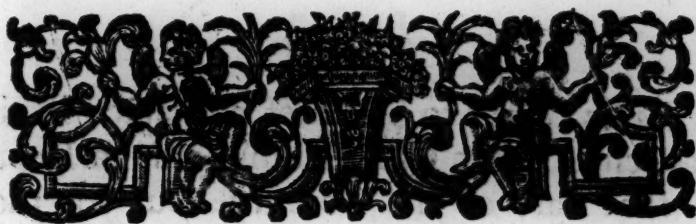
NEW YORK

1858

W. B. ELLIOTT & CO. PUBLISHERS

107 NASSAU ST. N.Y.

THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



THE
L I F E
O F
William Earl of Kilmarnock.



WILLIAM BOYDE, Earl of *Kilmarnock*, and Lord *Boyde*, was descended of a very ancient Family, and takes his Title of Earl from a Royal Borough of that Name in the Shire of *Cunningham*. The first remarkable Man of his Family, and the first who assumed the Surname of *Boyde*, was, as the *Scottish* Genealogists affirm, *Robert*, the Son of *Simon*, third Son of *Allan*, Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*, in the Year 1111, so in Right of this *Robert*, from whom the Earl of *Kilmarnock* was lineally descended, this Branch of the Name

of *Bojde* claims to be Chief, and acted in that Capacity, when Chieftainship was in Repute in that Part of the Country; but for more than a Century and a Half, Chiefs in that Part of *Scotland*, neither have, nor claim any other Advantage, but that of Precedency.

Several in the Line of this Family, have distinguished themselves for their Bravery in the Field, as well as their Judgment in the Cabinet. In the Year 1263, Sir *Robert Boyde* gave signal Proofs of his Valour and military Skill in that famous Battle of the *Largs*, fought by the *Scots*, against the *Norwegians*, who attempted to make a Descent upon that Part of the Country; for which he obtained a Grant from the Crown, of several Lands in the Shire of *Cunningham*.

He was succeeded by another Sir *Robert Boyde*, who likewise exercised his Valour in Defence of his King and Country; and received, as a Reward of his Services, the Lands of *Kilmarnock*, from *Robert* the First, then King of *Scotland*.

Another of the Ancestors was stiled Sir *Alexander Boyde* of *Duncow*; this Branch succeeded to the Estate and Honours of *Kilmarnock*.

Robert, the first Lord *Boyde*, was succeeded by his Son *Robert*, who inherited from his Father all those eminent Qualities which
gave

gave Lustre to his high Birth ; and in a short Time gained such a Share of Reputation and Popularity, that on the 25th of *October*, 1466, he was, by Letters Patent, created Regent of *Scotland*, during the Minority of King *James* the Third.

His Son, *Thomas* Lord *Boyde*, by his Father's Interest as Regent, married the Lady *Mary* *Stewart*, eldest Sister to King *James* III, who created him Earl of *Arran*. His Father sent him Ambassador to *Denmark*, to treat of a Marriage between the young King, his Brother-in-Law, and *Margaret*, a Daughter of that Crown. He succeeded in his Embassy, espoused the *Danish* Princess in the Name of his Master, and brought her safe to the Firth of *Leith*, where the Queen landed. But his Enemies saw with Envy the high Honours to which he was raised, and in his Absence, prevailed on that Prince, so far as to sacrifice to their Resentment, not only the Earl, but all his Family ; which he being informed of, returned to *Denmark*, without setting Foot on Shore, and carried his Wife the King's Sister with him. In the Year 1470 going to pay a Visit to the Duke of *Burgundy*, he died at *Antwerp*, and was honourably interred at the Expence of that Duke, who erected a magnificent Monument to his Memory. The old Lord

Boyde, his Father, also made his Escape to *England*, where he died in Peace.

The Earl of *Arran*, by his Lady, the Lady *Mary Stewart*, left a Son, named *James*, who died without Issue; and a Daughter, who was first married to *Alexander Forbes*, Ancestor of the Lord *Forbes*, and afterwards to *David Kenedy*, Earl of *Cassils*, by both which Marriages she had Issue. The Lady *Mary*, Widow of the Earl of *Arran*, in the Year 1474, married *James* Lord *Hamilton*, and in her Right, as descended from her that noble Family of *Hamilton* was next in the Intail of the Crown of *Scotland*, after the Extinction of the House of *Stewart*.

The Earl of *Arran*'s Son *James* dying without Issue, the Line was carried on by Sir *Alexander*, Son of Sir *Alexander Boyde* of *Duncow*, who by King *James* the Fourth, was restored to the Lands of *Kilmar-nock*, and the rest of the Estate of his Family.

Robert, a Descendant of the aforesaid Sir *Alexander*, was a Nobleman of an active Genius; and continued firm to the Interest of the unfortunate Queen *Mary*, and never deserted her Cause, till by her imprudent Flight into *Englnd*, she put it out of the Power of her loyal and well-affected Subjects to do her any Service. Then indeed he
 complied

complied with the Necessity of the Times, and the Humour of the People, in setting her Infant Son upon the Throne, without any Regard to the Mother's Title.

Nothing remarkable passed in the Family, till *William* succeeded to the Estate; who being a Man of Wit and Learning, made a Figure in the Court of King *Charles II.*, who created him Earl of *Kilmarnock*; this Gentleman was succeeded, at his Decease, by his eldest Son *William*, and he by his Son *William*, the third Earl of *Kilmarnock*, a Nobleman remarkably zealous in the Parliament of *Scotland*, for the famous Act, called, *The Act of Security*; but was somewhat wavering in his Conduct in relation to the Union; and affected, in the Beginning of that Affair, to join the *Squadron Volante*; I mean that Party, headed by the Marquess of *Tweeddale*, who were distinguished by that Name, on Account of their pretending to join neither of the Parties, but to cast the Balance between them: But the Earl, finding the Weakness, as well as the selfish Views of that Party, left them, and joined the *Whigs*, and those who promoted the Union; though, like many others who voted for it, he could have wished it had been conducted with more Circumspection, that the Means to bring it about had been less worthy of Censure; and that the whole had put on a
more

more popular Aspect. He died on the 22^d of November, in the Year 1717; leaving Issue, by *Euphene*, his Wife, Daughter to *William* Lord *Ross*,

William, the Fourth Earl of *Kilmarnock*, the unhappy Subject of this Narration. He was but very young when his Father died; but discovered an early Genius not unworthy the Dignity of his Birth: But his Father's Death leaving him too soon at Liberty to be his own Master, and the Indulgence that is generally given to young Noblemen, added to the natural Sprightliness of his Temper, soon gave him an Aversion to a rigorous Study of Letters, though he had made some Progress in Classfical Learning, and had acquired some tolerable Notion of Philosophy and Mathematics; but there was too much of the Volatile in his Disposition, to continue long at Exercises that required Application: He was more happy in acquiring those which are called genteel Accomplishments; such as Riding, Fencing, Dancing, and some Music; in all which he excelled, and was justly esteemed by Men of Taste, a polite Gentleman.

When he came to the Estate, it was pretty much incumbered, and great Part of the old Patrimony alienated: The Earl's Disposition was by no Means turned to improve it by Parsimony; on the contrary, as his

his Income was infinitely short of what the Generosity, or rather the Profuseness of his Temper, would prompt him to spend, he found his Affairs daily growing worse, and therefore thought of bettering his Circumstances, by an advantageous Match: To this Purpose, he fixed his Eyes upon Lady *Anne Livingston*, Daughter of *James* Earl of *Linthgow* and *Callander*, a young Lady of considerable Fortune, a great Beauty, and every way accomplished to make the greatest Prince happy: The Earl made his Addresses to the Lady, but her Friends, who knew the low Ebb of his Fortune, refused their Consent; however his Lordship's agreeable Person and genteel Address, raised a Friend for him in the generous Lady's Bosom, who is naturally an Enemy to Settlements, and other paternal Cautions: In short, the young Lady married him without her Mother's Consent, who was obliged to submit when there was no Remedy. His Lordship, it is said, proved but ungrateful for the Lady's Generosity, and public Fame strangely belied him, if she had not too much Cause to complain of his Conduct; but as her Ladyship has both a large Share of Spirit, Wit, and good Sense, they lived, if not happily, at least, civilly together.

The Earl's Irregularities, added to the Charge of a Family, at length reduced his
Circum-

Circumstances within such narrow Limits, that finding it difficult to support himself with any tolerable Decency, he applied to the *British* Court for a Pension, obtained it, and enjoyed it to the Time of his Entering into the late unnatural Rebellion. Most People look upon this Obligation to the Court, as a Circumstance greatly aggravating his Crime, by mixing Ingratitude with Treason; but some are of Opinion that the Reality of this Aggravation depends upon the Nature of the Pension, and that we must first be satisfy'd whether it was a Royal Bounty or a Ministerial Bribe, before we venture to determine how far he was blameable merely on this Head.

While the Rebellion was in embryo, we find no Footsteps of his Lordship's being in the Plot. On the contrary before the Battle of *Preston-Pans* he bestir'd himself in Opposition to that Party which he afterwards embraced. Several Authors, who have given us Accounts of this Lord and his Suffering, pretend that it was his Lady that prevailed upon him to take this Step, being, as they say, at *Edinburgh* when the young Pretender entered that City, and charmed her with his Military Appearance, and the Affability with which he treated her and all the Ladies; but this has been contradicted in such a Manner, and at such a Time by his Lordship, that we

we cannot help giving Credit to what he said.

The Defeat of General *Cope*, at the Battle of *Preston-Pans*, elevated the *Jacobites* to such a Degree, that they esteemed it Madness and Infatuation in every Body, who did not immediately join their Standard: Among those who did, the Earl of *Kilmarnock* was received by the young Chevalier with great Marks of Esteem and Distinction; was declared of his Privy-Council, made Colonel of the Guards, and promoted to the Degree of a General.

How this Lord behaved in his new Capacities of Statesman and General, so foreign from his former Manner of Life is clearly known but to few; but common Report says, that he conducted himself with Courage and Resolution, till the Day of the Battle of *Culloden*, when, foreseeing the Fate of his Party, he absented himself from his Corps, and either confounded by his Fears, or prompted by Despair, (chusing the Hazard of Death, rather than live a Vagabond) he almost unaccountably fell into the Hands of the King's Troops, and rather surrendered himself, than was taken Prisoner.

It deserves Observation, that this Nobleman, when he was but Eleven Years of Age, then Lord *Boyde*, appeared in Arms in Company with the Earl his Father, and was much
taken

taken Notice of for his graceful Behaviour. This was in the Rebellion in the Year 1715, when his Father appeared at the Head of above 500 of his own Men, in Defence of his Majesty King George I; and happy had it been for his Son, had he exerted himself as strenuously in Behalf of his present Majesty, and not have degenerated from so noble an Example as his Father had left him.

The Earl of *Kilmarnock*, having been committed Prisoner to the Tower of *London*, with the Earl of *Cromertie*, and the Lord *Balmerino*, was, with them brought to his Tryal, on *Monday, July 28. 1746.* and pleaded Guilty to his Indictment. On the *Wednesday* following the Lords Prisoners being brought up again to *Westminster*, the Lord High Steward being seated on the Chair before the Throne, his Grace, addressing himself to the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, acquainted him, as we have already mentioned in *p. 23, and 24.* that as his Lordship had thought proper to plead Guilty to the Indictment found against him, he had thereby confessed the several Crimes and Treasons with which he was therein charged; and therefore he now desired to know if he had any thing to offer, why Sentence of Death should not be passed upon him.

His

His Lordship then addressing himself to his Grace the Lord High Steward, and the House, delivered the following Speech.

May it please Your Grace and my Lords,

“ I HAVE already, from a due Sense
 “ of my Folly, and the Heinousness of
 “ those Crimes, with which I stand charg-
 “ ed, acknowledged myself Guilty, and ob-
 “ noxious to those Punishments, which the
 “ Laws of this Land have wisely provided
 “ for Offences of so deep a Dye. Nor would
 “ I have your Lordships to suspect, that what
 “ I am now to offer, is intended to exte-
 “ nuate those Crimes or palliate my Offences;
 “ No, I mean only to address myself to your
 “ Lordships merciful Disposition, to excite
 “ so much Compassion in your Lordships
 “ Breasts as to prevail on your Grace, and
 “ this Honourable House, to intercede with
 “ his Majesty for his Royal Clemency.

“ Though the Situation I am now in,
 “ and the Folly and Rashness which has
 “ exposed me to this Disgrace, cover me
 “ with Confusion, when I think of the un-
 “ sullied Honour of my Ancestors; yet I
 “ cannot help mentioning their unshaken
 “ Fidelity and steady Loyalty to the Crown,
 “ as a proper Subject to excite that Com-
 “ passion, which I am now soliciting: My
 Father

“ Father was an early and steady Friend to
 “ the Revolution, and was very active in
 “ promoting every Measure that tended to
 “ settle and secure the Protestant Succession
 “ in these Kingdoms; and particularly in
 “ that great Event, that gave the finishing
 “ Hand to the Establishment of the present
 “ illustrious Family; I mean the Union of
 “ the Kingdoms: He not only in his pub-
 “ lic Capacity promoted these Events, but
 “ in his Private supported them; and brought
 “ me up, and endeavoured to instill into
 “ my early Years, those Principles of the
 “ Revolution which had always been the
 “ Rule of his Actions.

“ It had been happy for me, my Lords,
 “ that I had always been influenced by his
 “ Precepts, and acted up to his Example:
 “ Yet, I believe, upon the strictest Enquiry
 “ it will appear, that the whole Tenure
 “ of my Life, from my first entering into
 “ the World, till the unhappy Minute in
 “ which I was seduced to join in this Re-
 “ bellion, has been agreeable to my Duty
 “ and Allegiance, and consistent with the
 “ strictest Loyalty.

“ For the Truth of this, I need only
 “ appeal to the Manner in which I have
 “ educated my Children; the Eldest of
 “ whom has the Honour to bear a Com-
 “ mission under his Majesty, and has al-
 ways

“ ways behaved like a Gentleman. I brought
 “ him up in the true Principles of the Revo-
 “ lution, and an Abhorrence of Popery and
 “ Arbitrary Power: His Behaviour is known
 “ to many of this Honourable House, and
 “ therefore I take the Liberty to appeal to
 “ your Lordships, if it is possible that my
 “ Endeavours in his Education should have
 “ been attended with such Success, if I had
 “ not myself been sincere in those Princi-
 “ ples, and an Enemy to those Measures
 “ which have now involved me and my Fa-
 “ mily in Ruin: Had my Mind at that
 “ Time been tainted with Disloyalty and
 “ Disaffection, I could not have dissembled
 “ so closely from my own Family, but some
 “ Tincture of it would have devolved to my
 “ Children.

“ I have endeavoured, as much as my
 “ Capacity or Interest would admit, to be
 “ serviceable to the Crown on all Occasi-
 “ ons; and even at the breaking out of the
 “ Rebellion, I was so far from approving
 “ their Measures, or shewing the least Prone-
 “ ness to promote *their unnatural* Scheme,
 “ that by my Interest in *Kilmarnock* and
 “ Places adjacent, I prevented Numbers
 “ from joining them, and encouraged the
 “ Country, as much as possible, to continue
 “ firm to their Allegiance.

“ When the unhappy Hour came, that
 “ I became a Party, which was not till after
 “ the Battle of *Preston-Pans*, I was far from
 “ being a Person of any Consequence amongst
 “ them ; I neither provided Arms, nor raised
 “ a single Man for their Service ; whilst I
 “ continued with them, I endeavoured to
 “ moderate their Cruelty, and was happily
 “ instrumental in saving the Lives of many
 “ of his Majesty’s loyal Subjects, whom
 “ they had taken Prisoners ; I assisted the
 “ Sick and Wounded, and did all in my
 “ Power to make their Confinement toler-
 “ able. I had not been long with them
 “ before I saw my Error, and reflected with
 “ Horror on the Guilt of swerving from
 “ my Allegiance to the best of Sovereigns ;
 “ the Dishonour which reflected upon my-
 “ self, and the fatal Ruin which it neces-
 “ sarily brought upon my Family. I then
 “ determined to leave them, and submit my-
 “ self to his Majesty’s Clemency ; for that
 “ purpose I separated myself from my Corps
 “ at the Battle of *Culloden*, and stayed to
 “ surrender myself a Prisoner, though I had
 “ frequent Opportunities, and might have
 “ escaped with great Ease, for the Truth of
 “ which I appeal to the Person to whom I
 “ surrendered.

“ It is with the utmost Abhorrence and
 “ Detestation, I have seen a Letter from
 “ the

“ the *French* Court, presuming to dictate to
 “ a *British* Monarch the Manner he should
 “ deal with his rebellious Subjects; I am
 “ not so much in love with Life, nor so
 “ void of a Sense of Honour, as to expect
 “ it upon such an Intercession; I depend
 “ only upon the merciful Intercession of this
 “ Honourable House, and the innate Cle-
 “ mency of his sacred Majesty.

“ But if, my Lords, if all I have offered
 “ is not a sufficient Motive to your Lordships
 “ to induce you to employ your Interest
 “ with his Majesty, for his Royal Clemency
 “ in my Behalf, I shall lay down my Life
 “ with the utmost Resignation; and my last
 “ Moments shall be employed in fervent
 “ Prayer for the Preservation of the illustri-
 “ ous House of *Hanover*, and the Peace
 “ and Prosperity of *Great-Britain*.”

On *Friday, August 1*, his Lordship being
 brought down, with the two other Rebel
 Lords, to *Westminster*, with them received
 Sentence of Death, after which he had no-
 thing to do but to prepare for the final Ex-
 ecution of it, in which melancholy Business
 he was assisted by Mr. *Foster*, a Dissenting
 Minister, but who, by all Parties, is allowed
 to be a Gentleman of great Learning and
 Piety.

Mr. *Foster* tells us, that the first Access he had to the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, was on *Thursday* the 7th of *August* in the Evening, very soon after the Order for his Admittance was brought to General *Williamson*.

He introduced his serious Discourses with him in this Manner: ----- That being desired to assist him, in his Preparation for the important and awful Scene that was before him, he could not decline, however it might shock his Nature, such a necessary Act of Humanity, that, within the *Scope* and *Limits* of his Character, he readily devoted his utmost Services to him: But told him, that it would be absolutely indecent in him, to attempt to meddle with the *Civil* Part of the Affair between the Government and his Lordship, unless he was properly called upon, and then he would fairly and impartially declare the Truth. That he took it for granted, from his Lordship's sending for him, that he would allow him to deal freely with him, and did not expect to be flattered, nor to have the Malignity of his Crimes disguised or softened: For the Wound of his Mind, occasioned by his public and private Vices, must be probed and searched to the Bottom, before it could be capable of receiving any Remedy; and that if he disapproved of this Method, he thought he could be of no Service to him, and desired

fired to be excused from any farther Attendance.

His Lordship allowed of what Mr. *Foster* said, that it would be unbecoming in him to interfere in Things remote from his Office, and said, he did not expect, nor would ever urge any Thing he thought inconsistent with it; that Simplicity and Freedom of Speech were the only Things that could do him Good; and that it was now no Time to prevaricate with him, and play the Hypocrite with God, before whose Tribunal he might so shortly appear.

Mr. *Foster*, in the next Place, to awaken him thoroughly to a due Sense of his Guilt, persuaded him to look upon himself as a Criminal, whose Sentence of Death was scarce more just, than the Execution of it was inevitable. Self-Preservation, and the Love of Life, it is obvious, are not only strong Principles in human Nature, but to one in my Lord's Circumstances, very insinuating and dangerous Principles: He therefore pressed him earnestly, not to suffer himself to be amused by vain and deluding Hopes, and told him, that by what he could collect from the general Sense of the People, and the Publick Call for Justice, there was no Probability of his obtaining a Reprieve; and that while his Mind was suspended between Hope and Fear, it must be proportionably distracted;

and, of Consequence, unable to recollect and exert its whole Strength and Force in such a Manner, as was necessary to produce in him that deep Contrition and bitter Remorse, for his heinous and aggravated Crimes, and that true Temper of Penitence, which alone could recommend him to the Divine Mercy.

Lord *Kilmarnock* reply'd, That indeed when he consulted his Reason, and argued calmly with himself, he could see no probable Ground on which to expect Mercy; but still the Hope of Life would often intrude itself: And he was afraid, that this might be attended with another ill Consequence besides what Mr. *Foster* had mentioned: That is, that when the Warrant for his Execution came down, he should not only have the Terror of the Sentence to conflict with, but also the Disappointment of his too fond and flattering Hope. He therefore assured him, that he endeavoured to the utmost of his Power, to repel it; and that the main bent of his Thoughts was towards the infinitely more momentous Concern of perfecting his Repentance, and preparing for Death and Eternity.

As to the great Crime of his Rebellion, for which he had merited, and justly received the Sentence of Death, he expressed himself without the least Hesitation, or Reserve ;

serve ; and assured the Reverend Gentleman who attended him, That in the Hours of his Confinement and Solitude, he had felt it lye as a severe and heavy Load upon his Soul ; and particularly upon these two Accounts, which were peculiar Aggravations of his Guilt : That he had been a Rebel against his Conscience and inward Principles ; and in Violation of his Oath solemnly and often repeated.

To this Mr. *Foster* replied, That indeed the Breach of his Oath, one of the most Sacred of all religious and social Ties, and acting in direct Repugnance to those *Revolution Principles* which he had formerly professed, and from which in *Sentiment* he never swerved, were high Aggravations of his Wickedness, and should strike his Mind with the deepest Remorse and Horror : But that he ought to extend his Reflections farther, in order to take in the whole Compass of his Guilt, with all its dreadful Circumstances ; that so foul a Crime could not be sincerely repented of without the bitterest Contrition and Humiliation of Soul ; in order to which, a full View of its Malignity, both in its Nature and Consequences, was absolutely necessary. He therefore represented to him, that the Rebellion in which he had rashly engaged, was entirely unprovoked and ungrateful, and, of Consequence, most unjust

and unnatural ; that the King's Right to the Crown was, even in his Lordship's own Opinion, incontestable, and his Government had ever been mild and gracious ; and that, in the same Period of Time, the Subject had never enjoy'd, since the Conquest, that is, for near 700 Years, such a Course of uninterrupted and uncontrouled Liberty, as since the Accession of the present Royal Family to the Throne. He told him farther, that by joining the Rebels, he had not only attacked the personal Rights of the King and his illustrious House, but endeavoured to destroy the national Happiness, and frustrate the Hopes of Posterity ; that he had been instrumental in diffusing Consternation and Terror through the Land, obstructing Commerce, giving a Shock to the public Credit, in the Depredation and Ruin of his Country ; and ought to consider himself as an Accessary to innumerable private Oppressions and Murders : His Lordship added, with a sensible Concern, *Yea, and murders of the Innocent too !* The whole of this Charge he readily admitted, and frequently with Tears, and offering up short fervent Petitions to God for Mercy.

But when Mr. *Foster* mentioned to him the Consequences of the Rebellion, that its natural Tendency was to the utter Subversion of our excellent free Constitution, to
extirpate

extirpate our Holy Religion, and introduce the monstrous Superstitions and Cruelties of Popery, and the unbounded Mischiefs of Arbitrary Power : ----- Here he at first hesitated, and did not seem to have so clear a Conviction as Mr. *Foster* thought was necessary to render his Repentance complete. He told him, that he had considered this as a Thing *possible*, or, at most, as a remotely probable Consequence, but had not looked upon it as so closely connected with the Success of the Rebellion, as was generally imagined. That, as far as he could learn from all the Conversations he had with the Pretender's Son, and all the Knowledge he could gain of his Sentiments, he was not a Person that had a real Concern for any outward Profession of Religion ; he thought therefore, that to introduce Popery, he would not run the Risk of defeating his main Design ; that the Experience, which his pretended Family had had of the ill Effects of making any violent Attacks upon the Constitution and Liberties of this Country, would make him cautious and deliberate ; or hoped, that the generous invincible Spirit of *British* Liberty would render all such Attempts unsuccessful : For that he himself was never, in the utmost Heat of his Rebellion, a Well-wisher to tyrannical Power and Popery, which last he could never embrace,
without

without entirely renouncing his Understanding as a Man.

To which Mr. *Foster* answered, that he was sorry to find his Lordship had been imposed upon by such vain and fallacious Reasoning; that if what he had said of the Son was really true, yet the *Father*, whose spurious Claim he came to assert, was, by all Accounts, an inflexible Biggot to the *Romish* Superstition; that it could not be imagin'd, but that the young Pretender also, having been chiefly educated at *Rome*, thought himself under the strongest Obligations to promote the same Cause, that the Manifesto he had published was in the same Strain with the Declaration of King *James II*, viz. that he intended to allow to all his Subjects free Liberty of Conscience, which, the Protestant People of *England* plainly saw, was intended to open Popish Mass-Houses, and, under the Colour of this Indulgence to bring in a Swarm of Priests to corrupt and poison the Land, that without doubt, the Courts of *France* and *Spain* would never have attempted to support this Usurpation, without having directly stipulated in favour of Popery, and for the Extirpation of the Protestant Religion, the great Support of *British* Liberty; that if, through Pusillanimity and Consternation of the People, (who, by collecting the 50th Part of their

their Force, were able to have trampled down the Rebels under their Feet, and to have extinguished every Spark of this unnatural Conspiracy) they should have come into Possession of present Power; yet it could not be imagined, but that the King, (who was a great Prince in Virtue of his foreign Dominions, and who would be supported by the Protestant States of *Europe*, and, in all Probability, by the House of *Austria* too, in order to preserve a just Balance, and restrain the exorbitant Power of *France*) must make long and vigorous Efforts to recover his legal Right; that the Pretender's Government could therefore never be establish'd, without a *French* Standing Army to insult and awe the Nation: Which would only be granted upon Condition of our making a hasty and inglorious Peace, betraying the most important and valuable Parts of our Commerce, and seems to render the Sacrifice of our Religion and Liberties, not only highly probable, but absolutely inevitable.

This was the Substance of the Conversation between Lord *Kilmarnock* and Mr. *Foster* upon this Head; in the Close of which my Lord declared, That he saw these Consequences in a quite different Light from what they had ever appeared to him in before, and sincerely lamented his having any Hand in entailing such Evils upon his Country.

try. And when Mr. *Foster* told him, That he supposed he had never allowed himself to enter deeply and seriously into the Subject; my Lord said, That in Truth, he was not very fond of thinking much about it, but rather inclined to flatter and delude himself.

When Mr. *Foster* asked him, what could be his Motive to engage thus in the Rebellion against his Conscience, in Defiance of God, and in Violation of Sacred Oaths, and, consequently, in Contempt of all Laws Divine and Human, all Ties of Justice and Honour? My Lord answered, That the true Root of all was his careless and dissolute Life, by which he had reduced himself to great and perplexing Difficulties; that the Exigency of his Affairs was in particular very pressing at the Time of the Rebellion; and that, besides the general Hope he had of mending his Fortune by the Success of it, he was also tempted by another Prospect of retrieving his Circumstances, if he followed the Pretender's Standard. His Love of Vanity and Addictedness to Impurity and sensual Pleasure, he said, had not only brought Pollution and Guilt upon his Soul, but debased his *Reason*, and, for a Time, suspended the Exercise of his social Affections which were by Nature strong in him, and, in particular, the Love of his Country: So that his

his Rebellion was a kind of desperate Scheme, proceeding originally from his Vices, to extricate himself from the Distress of his Circumstances.

Mr. *Foster* told him, that he hoped he was ready to acknowledge the Wisdom of Providence, in so settling the Train and Order of Things in the moral World, as that a Life of Levity and Extravagance, naturally led to the other most fatal Extreams. And this Persuasion would make him humble in his present Condition, and thoroughly resigned to the Will of Heaven.

My Lord himself went farther, and said,
 “ That it was not only a wise and righteous,
 “ but might, to him, be a good and merciful Providence; that he had often acknowledged it to God as an unspeakable
 “ Mercy to his Soul, that he did not fall
 “ at the Battle of *Culloden*, quite unreflecting and impenitent; that if the Rebellion
 “ had been successful, he should have gone
 “ on increasing his Guilt, and have had
 “ many more Oppressions and Murders to
 “ account for before God, and that it was
 “ most likely, that he would have continued
 “ to pursue his old Course of Guilt and Infamy, without ever recollecting himself;
 “ or entertaining any serious Thoughts of
 “ Repentance.” He said, that he was constantly endeavouring to work himself to
 greater

greater Penitence, and a more complete Temper of Resignation, as well knowing that from thence alone his true Comfort and rational Calmness of Mind could spring; and that he had often made use of these Words of Christ, *Father, if it be possible, let this Cup pass from me: Nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt*; ----- but had sometimes been check'd by this Thought, that it was a Mixture of Profaneness with Piety, for him who had been so great a Sinner, and deserved Death, to address himself to God in the same Language with his blessed Saviour, which was perfectly innocent.

Besides impressing upon his Mind a deep Sense of his public Guilt, Mr. *Foster* urged him to a sincere Recollection of all his more private Vices: And told him, That he should not endeavour to excuse and palliate, but represent them to his Mind with all their Aggravations; that the great Business of the short Time of Life, which seemed at present to be allotted to him, should be to soften and humble his Soul, and to make his Sorrow and Repentance for his Sins more deep and lively, and acquire a Disposition of Mind, alienated as much as possible from the Love and Relish of his former Impurities; that without this he could have nothing to recommend him to God's Mercy, nor any well-grounded hope of it; and it would

would be impossible for him to enjoy the Spiritual and sublime Happiness of Heaven, even if he supposed that he might be admitted to reside in Heaven; that the most effectual Method he could take to get a strong Detestation of, and Aversion to Sin, was to reflect frequently on the Malignity, Deformity, and Horror of it in itself, as a Stain to his Reason, and the most ignominious Depression of his Nature, as perverting that wise and beautiful Order which God had established in the Creation, and destroying that Perfection and Happiness among reasonable Beings, for which he originally formed them; as a Contrariety to his pure and spotless Excellence, an Affront to his supreme Authority, a Contempt of all his Promises of Mercy to the Penitent and Ingratitude against the best of Beings, to whom he was under the highest Obligations, and whose Goodness is unmeasurable and infinite.

After some more Discourse of the like kind, my Lord desired Mr. *Foster* would administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to him, which at first he declined, without absolutely refusing it. His Reason was that he did not choose to do it, till he had Authority from General *Williamson* to tell him, *that there remained no Hope of his Life*. Then he thought he should

should have clearer Evidence if he still continued ingenuous in his Temper, if his Confessions and Repentance were sincere; and he consented at last only upon Condition, that my Lord would allow Mr. *Fowler*, the Gentleman-Goaler of the Tower to be present, and renew his Acknowledgments before him.

My Lord *Kilmarnock* made no Objection to this; and the Questions Mr. *Foster* proposed to him, together with his Answers, were in substance as follows:

Do you acknowledge, with deep Penitence and Contrition, the Guilt of the late unprovoked, unnatural and wicked Rebellion in which you engaged; the Share you had, by being involved in it, in the Oppressions and Murders of your Fellow Subjects, and the Desolation and Spoil of your native Country; your great Guilt in rebelling against your *just* and *lawful* King, and against a mild and gracious Government? *I do.*

Are you ready to declare, that it is your stedfast Resolution to persist in this humble Confession to the last, and to pray for the Prosperity of King *George*, the Establishment of his Royal House, and the Welfare and Peace of your Country, with your dying Breath? *I readily declare this to be my steady Purpose.*

Do

Do you also, with Shame and Humiliation before God, acknowledge the Irregularities and Excesses of your private Life; and will you endeavour to form your Mind to a deeper and deeper Repentance for both your publick and more personal Crimes? *This is my Resolution, which I will adhere to by the Help of God.*

Be pleased to declare, that you expect no Benefit at all from receiving the Sacrament, if your Remorse and Penitence be not sincere. *I do not think, that it will be of any Service to me.*

In the last Place, Mr. *Foster* desired the Earl of *Kilmarnock* to declare, what of his own Accord he had mentioned to him before. That he would consider himself, in this Act of receiving the Sacrament under his present critical and melancholly Circumstances, as making an implicit *Appeal* to God, that he expected no Mercy from him, if his Confessions were feigned and hypocritical; and that he looked upon the Death of Christ (which he was then solemnly to commemorate as a Ratification of God's Covenant of Mercy to unfeigned humble Penitents, and *to them alone*) as both a strong Encouragement and Motive to him, to endeavour to strengthen and perfect his Repentance. *I consider the whole of this in*
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the Light, in which it has now been represented.

Mr. *Foster* adds, that all the Confessions of this unfortunate Lord appeared to him to be free and ingenuous : He never scrupled the Questions that were asked him, nor took the least Time to meditate and prepare an Answer. His Confessions, likewise, were perfectly consistent and uniform, and never varied as to the general Substance ; and in no other Circumstance than this, which will be thought perhaps to redound to his Honour, that he continued to the last recollecting and searching himself, and declaring particular Incidents as they occurred to him, which tended, upon the whole, not to the Extenuation, but to the Heightening of his Crime. And a few Days before his Death, he said, that he thought he should rather prefer the speedy Execution of the Sentence, which was justly passed upon him, than a longer Continuance in Life, if he was sure that he should be again entangled by the Snares and Temptations to which he had formerly yielded : What would really be the Event, if he was let loose among the Gaieties and Pleasures of Life, he did not certainly know, and somewhat dreaded ; but in the Declaration he had made, he thought he found himself clear.

Heavy

Heavy Charges of Inhumanity and Cruelty, Mr. *Foster* told him, were spread among the People concerning him; and by many believed. He desired him therefore to be honest and free in clearing his Conscience of such a Load of most unnatural Guilt, by answering to the following Interrogations, which included in them the Substance of these Charges.

Here are subjoined, for the Perusal of the Public, the Questions which Mr. *Foster* proposed, and afterwards transcribed from a Paper written before he went to the Tower, and Lord *Kilmarnock's* distinct Reply to each.

Was your Lordship present in the Pretender's Council at *Inverness*, or any other Place, before the Battle of *Culloden*, where it was proposed to destroy the Prisoners taken by the Rebels?

I can most sincerely and freely Answer, No.

Was you ever present in Council where this was proposed? *No.*

Did you ever move for such an Order? *No.*

Did you ever sign such an Order? *No.*

Did you ever carry an Order of this kind to the French General *Stapleton*? Did you, in his Presence, approve of such an Order? Did you at any Time, hearing it had been communicated to him, encourage and ex-

cite him to the Execution of it. To all which my Lord answered in the same Manner, *No.*

Did you ever know, or hear, that such a Thing, or an Order to give no Quarter, was debated, or agreed to; or signed in the Rebel Army, till you was taken by the King's Forces, and a Prisoner at *Inverness*? Or do you know yourself guilty of any Cruelties, by you authorised, or committed, against the King's Soldiers, or Subjects taken Prisoners by the Rebels? The Answer to both these Questions was the same as before.

As to what passed in the Church of *St. Nimias*, he told Mr. *Foster*, that he knew nothing at all of it, till, upon the Retreat of the Rebel Army, he was at some Distance from *Stirling*, where he had been confined to his Bed by a Fever; that the first Notice he had of it, was the Noise of blowing up the Church, of which he could never get any but an indistinct and confused Account; that it was represented by the Rebels as accidental; but concerning this he could certainly say nothing, only *as to himself* he solemnly declared, that he had no Knowledge before-hand of, nor any Concurrence in a design'd Act of Cruelty. Mr. *Foster* told him however, that he was charged with an Instance of Barbarity to the Prisoners confined

fined in the Church at *Inverness*. And the Account which he gave of the Fact, is as follows: That there were Orders issued by the Pretender's Son, to strip them of their Cloathing for the Use of some of the Highland Rebels; that the Warrant for executing this Order was sent to him, that he did not enter the Church in Person, but committed the Execution of it to an inferior Officer; that the Prisoners, at first, refused to submit, upon which there was a second Order, and their Cloaths were taken from them; but that in the mean Time, the Person stiled the *French* Ambassador, represented to him, that this was an Outrage, which he scarce thought justifiable by the Law of Nations, and the Rules of War; he therefore, while the Cloaths lay in Heaps, with proper Centinels over them, in the Streets of *Inverness*, went up to the Pretender's Son, and represented the Matter in the Light in which the *French* Ambassador had stated it, and according to what were his own Sentiments likewise; upon which, as it was feared that such Usage might make an ill Impression upon the Minds of the People, the Cloaths were again restored; and this, he averred to Mr. *Foster*, was the whole of the Truth, as far as it ever fell under his Knowledge.

Mr.

Mr. *Foster* says for his own Part he must do the unhappy Criminal the Justice to own, that he never appeared, during the Course of his Attendance upon him, to be of any other than a soft benevolent Disposition. His Behaviour was always remarkably mild and temperate. He could discern, he says, no Resentment, no Disturbance or Agitation in him. But indeed he feared this (as Persons in his melancholy Circumstances are generally apt to think, that they ought to have the Preference in Cases of Reprieve or Pardon) when he was first informed of the Earl of *Cromertie's* Reprieve, and therefore, in the Morning before he waited on him, he prepared himself to quiet and mollify his Mind. But one of the first Things that my Lord said to him was, that he was extremely glad that the King's Mercy had been shewn to Lord *Cromertie*.

Mr. *Foster* said, he hoped his Lordship did not think he had any Injustice done to him? His Answer was, not the least. I have pleaded Guilty, said he, I entirely acquiesce in the Justice of my Sentence, and if Mercy be extended to another, I can have no Reason to complain, when nothing but Justice is done to me. I do not believe, continued his Lordship, that my not being reprieved is owing to any Defect of Clemency in the King, who, by all Accounts

I ever

I ever received, is a very merciful Prince; nor that it springs from any particular Resentment or Prejudice against me, either in his Majesty, or in the Duke; but from some Distinction that they thought there was in the Circumstances of Lord *Cromwell's* Guilt and mine, or else from the public Demand for Justice, which made it unfit that two out of three should be reprieved. From this Way of thinking and discoursing, he never, Mr. *Foster* says to his Knowledge, varied to the last.

That Reverend Gentleman here adds another, and, as he thinks, a great and unquestionable Instance of Lord *Kilmarnock's* Ingenuity. He had been charged, and he imagined with a just Foundation, with having uttered a Falshood, when he said in his Speech at the Bar of the House of Lords, that *it was very easy for him to have escaped*. This he still thought was true upon the Rebel Army's *first giving Way*, as the greatest Part of that Body actually did escape, with whom he was joined. But after he had separated himself from them, and was advanced any considerable Way towards the King's Troops, he believed that his Escape was not practicable. But tho' he hoped that this would clear him from the Imputation of having wilfully prevaricated in the Instance already mentioned; yet he owned,

owned, that in another, induced by the Love and strong Desire of Life, he had grossly falsified. The Case as he represented it to Mr. *Foster*, was thus; ---- He had asserted in his Speech, that tho' he could have escaped, he did not choose it, because the Consequences, in an Instant, appeared to him more terrible, more shocking, than the most painful or ignominious Death: And therefore he chose to surrender and commit himself to the King's Mercy, rather than to throw himself into the Hands of a foreign Power, the natural Enemy to his Country; with whom to have Merit, he must persist in continued Acts of Violence to his Principles, and of Treason and Rebellion against his King and Country: But the real Truth was, That he had no Intention at all to surrender, and that his only View was to facilitate his Escape; for he thought the Body towards which he advanced, were not the King's, but *Fitz-James's* Horse, and that if he could reach them, by mounting behind one of the *Dragoons*, his Escape would have been more certain, than, as he was then on Foot, it appeared to him in his present Situation to be; tho' he did not find his Strength or Spirits in any considerable Degree impair'd. This, he thought, as it related to his inward Intention only, could not be discovered but by his own Confession, nor known to any but

but God and his own Conscience. But he was willing to unburden his Soul, and purge it of its secret Guilt; and therefore pressed it upon him (*Mr. Foster*) in a particular Manner, and especially on the very Day before he was executed, not to forget to publish to the World this Circumstance, because, as he had solemnly uttered before so august an Assembly as the House of Lords, a direct and known Untruth, he thought, if he should dye without a Retraction of it, and a publick Acknowledgment of his Offence, he must be considered as one, who presumed to appear before the Tribunal of God with a Lye in his Mouth.

In this Place *Mr. Foster* says, he could not help thinking himself bound in Justice to Lady *Kilmarnock* to declare (and he thought it would be more proper to do it here than any where else, because it would probably find more Credit, after such a striking Instance of the late Lord *Kilmarnock's* conscientious Regard to Truth) that my Lord had said to him, that, tho' his Lady was bred in different Sentiments, he thought her now more inclined to *Whiggish* than *Jacobite* Principles. And the Reverend and Honourable *Mr. Home*, and *Mr. Ross* his Lordship's Solicitor, desired *Mr. Foster* to inform the World of another Thing, which he had expressly mentioned to them, *viz.*

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that

that instead of exciting him to, she had dissuaded him from entering into the late wicked and horrid Rebellion.

As the Publick will, in all Probability, be curious to know what were Lord *Kilmarnock's* Sentiments concerning Death, and the *particular* Kind of Death, which he expected in pursuance of his Sentence, would be inflicted on him; Mr. *Foster* relates the Substance of the Discourses that passed between them, upon these great, and, to the Generality of the World, most terrifying Subjects.

On *Monday* the 11th of *August*, General *Williamson* desired Mr. *Foster*, in the gentlest Terms he could use, to let my Lord know, that he had received the Order for his and Lord *Balmerino's* Execution. Mr. *Foster* at first declined the ungrateful Office, and told the General, that he was so shocked at it, that he could not think of delivering the Message himself, but would endeavour to prepare the unfortunate Lord, by divesting him as far as he could of all Hope of Life, for his informing him of it. And he intended to have gone no farther, but finding my Lord in a resigned and calm Temper, Mr. *Foster* told him, as General *Williamson* was coming up, that he would see the vast Importance, nay, the absolute Necessity of attending seriously to what he had been saying
about

about his diligent and constant Preparation for Death, by what, as he said, he apprehended he would soon hear.

Lord *Kilmarnock* immediately asked him, if the Warrant was come down for his Execution? The other told him it was, and that the Day fixed was the *Monday* following. And as, upon this, the General immediately came into the Room, Mr. *Foster* acquainted him, that Lord *Kilmarnock* knew already what he intended to inform him of.

My Lord received this News with the outward Behaviour of a Man, that knew and felt the Importance of the Scene of Death, but without any Marks of Disorder, without any unbecoming Anxiousness or Terror. And to establish and support him in his present Quietude of Mind, Mr. *Foster* told him, “ That all Mankind were really
 “ under Sentence of Death, tho’ they knew
 “ not the *Manner*, or *precise Time* of its
 “ being executed ; it might be to any One,
 “ as soon, or sooner, than his own ; that
 “ they not expecting it, nor having such
 “ timely and certain Notice of it, might
 “ die wholly unguarded and unprepared ;
 “ while he had Warning, and the most a-
 “ wakening Motives to fit himself, in the
 “ best Manner possible, for this grand and
 “ decisive Event.”

My Lord said, he had never been a Libertine in *Principle*, during all the Time that he was most inconsiderate and licentious in his Conduct; but had always firmly believed the great Truths of God's Being and Providence, and a future State of Rewards and Punishments for Virtue and Vice, and that he had not been involved in the fashionable Scepticism of the Times, with respect to Christianity, that he was therefore naturally concerned, and chiefly concerned about the Consequences of Death, in comparison of which he thought the Thing itself a Trifle, that as to the particular Manner of his Death, he thought he had no great Reason to be terrified, for that the Stroke appeared to be scarce so much as the Pain of drawing a Tooth, or the first Shock of the Cold Bath upon a weak and fearful Temper.

When General *Williamson*, upon the *Saturday* preceding his Execution, gave him a minute Detail of all the Circumstances of Solemnity and outward Terror that would accompany it; he heard it with as much Shew of Composure, as a Man of a tender compassionate Spirit would read the Account of it, in an Instance where he was not personally concerned. He was told, That on *Monday* about Ten in the Morning, the Sheriffs would come to demand the Prisoners, who

who would be delivered to them at the Gate of the *Tower*; that from thence, if their Lordships thought proper, they should walk on foot to the House appointed on *Tower-Hill* for their Reception, where the Rooms would be hung with Black, to make the more decent and solemn Appearance, and that the Scaffold also would be covered with black Cloth; that his Lordship might repose and prepare himself, in the Room fitted up for him, as long as he thought it convenient, remembering only, that the Warrant for the Execution was limited to, and consequently expired at One o'Clock; that because of a Complaint made by Lord *Kennmure*, that the Block was too low, it was ordered to be raised to the Height of two Feet; that it might be the more firmly fixed, Props would be placed directly under it, that the Certainty or Decency of the Execution might not be obstructed by any Concussion, or sudden Jirk of the Body. All this Lord *Kilmarnock*, without the least visible Emotion, expressed his Satisfaction in: But when the General told him, that two mourning Hearses would be provided, and placed close by the Scaffold, that when the Head was struck off, the Coffins might be soon taken out to receive the Bodies, he said, that he thought it would be better for the Coffins to be upon the Scaffold, for

by that Means the Bodies would be still sooner removed out of Sight. And being farther informed, that an Executioner was provided who would perform his Work dexterously, and that he was a very good Sort of Man, my Lord answered, General, this is one of the worst Circumstances that you could have mentioned; I cannot thoroughly like, for such Business, your good Sort of Men: For one of that Character, I apprehend, must be a tender-hearted and compassionate Man, and a rougher and less sensible Temper might be fitter to be employ'd. After this, Lord *Kilmarnock* desired, That four Persons might be appointed to receive the Head, when it was severed from the Body, in a red Cloth, that it might not, as he had been informed was the Case in some former Executions, roll about the Scaffold, and be thereby mangled and disfigured: For that tho' this was, in Comparison, but a small Circumstance, he was not willing that his Body should appear with any unnecessary Indecency, after the just Sentence of the Law was satisfied.

Mr. *Foster* could not perceive, but that he talked of all these Particulars with Ease and Freedom, tho' the Relation, he remembers, he says, made him tremble, chiefly because he apprehended that they would produce

produce in my Lord some Perturbation and Distress of Mind.

Mr. *Foster* thinks it proper to add, that when my Lord was told, that his Head would be held up to the Multitude, and public Proclamation made, that, that was the Head of a Traitor; he replied, That this he knew to be usual on all such Occasions, and spoke of it as a Thing of no Significancy in the Affair at all, and did not in the least affect him. And Mr. *Foster* says, he never heard, either before or after he was delivered into the Custody of the Sheriffs, that he intimated the least Concern to have this Part of the dismal Ceremony dispensed with: [*and therefore it has greatly surprized some People that it should be omitted, and has occasioned some odd Conjectures.*] Mr. *Ford* indeed, in his Account of the Execution of the two Lords, says, it was at my Lord's *particular Request*, and that the Law don't require it: But the first Gentleman (Mr. *Foster*) says, that all Lord *Kilmarnock's* Friends, who attended him in his last Moments, are ready to concur with him in making the same Declaration, that they never expected it would have been so, and wondered at it.

After the Conversation above-mentioned, between Lord *Kilmarnock* and General *Williamson*, Mr. *Foster* thought it proper to
advise

advise him to think frequently on the outward *Apparatus* and *Formalities* that would attend his Death, that these Circumstances, striking to Sense, might impress his Mind with Horror, and disarm him of Part of his Resolution, if he was not by Reflection thoroughly prepared for the Scene; but if they were habituated to the Mind, they would in a great Measure, lose their Influence, and be considered as no more than the *Appendages* of a Subject vastly more great, and worthy his Contemplation. And he declared, on the Morning of his Execution, that he had taken this Method with himself, and hoped that these Things would discompose him but little, nor create any Weakness, or Indecency in his Behaviour, he allowed with Mr. *Foster* that they were nothing so terrible in themselves, as the dying after a dispiriting and lingering Distemper, in a silent melancholy darkened Room, with languid and exhausted Spirits, and his Friends standing round him, with lively Marks of Sorrow and Anguish in their Countenances, expecting and deploring his Fate.

To come to the Conclusion of this dismal Scene, his Behaviour on the Day of his Execution, Mr. *Foster* attended him in the Morning about Eight o'Clock, and found him in a most calm and happy Temper, without any Disturbance or Confusion in his
Mind,

Mind, and with apparent Marks of Ease and Serenity in his Aspect. And that the World may the better judge of the Propriety of his Behaviour from that Time to the Time of his Death, Mr. *Foster* says, he will first declare what his Lordship's professed Sentiments were concerning himself, and the Manner in which he chose to die; and then briefly point out what, in his Opinion, was the utmost Decency of Conduct in one in his Circumstances, under the Impression of such Sentiments and Principles.

Mr. *Foster* observed to him, that to affect to brave Death, when he justly suffered for his Crimes, could have no Shew of a true Decorum in it; and that to manifest no Concern at all, where the Consequence was so awful, and the Stake infinite, was, in some Degree unbecoming even in the best Men. My Lord assented to what Mr. *Foster* said, and told him farther, That for a Man who had led a dissolute Life, and yet believed the Consequences of Death, to put on such an Air of Daringness and absolute Intrepidity, must argue him either to be very stupid or very impious; and said farther, that though he entirely acquiesced in the Justice of his Sentence, and thought it his Duty wholly to resign himself to the wise and equal Disposals of Providence, he had still this Clog upon his Mind, that he could
not

not be sure his Repentance was sincere, because it had never been tried. Mr. *Foster* answered him, that if he aimed at Certainty in this grand Point, he might unnecessarily perplex and distress his Mind, because, for the very Reason which he had assigned, that is to say, for Want of proper Opportunities to try and prove the Truth of his Repentance, such a Certainty was not attainable by any Person in his Condition.

At my Lord's Desire, Mr. *Foster* made a short Prayer with him, soon after which General *Williamson* came to inform him, that the Sheriffs waited for the Prisoners: At the receiving this awful Summons to go to Death, he was not in the least startled, but said calmly and gracefully, *General, I am ready, I'll follow you.* At the Foot of the Stairs he met and embraced Lord *Balmerino*, as before-mentioned in the Account of that Lord. From thence he walked with the usual Formalities to the Tower-Gate, and, after being delivered into the Custody of the Sheriffs, went to the House provided for the Purpose, the late *Transport-Office*, on *Tower-Hill*, near the Scaffold.

My Lord *Kilmarnock* spent his Retirement here in a Manner suitable to his unhappy Circumstances, Mr. *Foster* frequently comforting him with seasonable Exhortations. His Lordship in particular recommended it
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to the Sheriffs Observance, " That he declared himself a Protestant, and thoroughly satisfied with the Legality of his Majesty King *George's* Title to the Throne of these Realms; that he himself was educated in these Principles, and had constantly adhered to them, till after the breaking out of the Rebellion, which he heartily repented of ever engaging in, and that he prayed for the Good of his Country, and for the Continuance of the Crown in his Majesty and his Descendants till the latest Posterity."

The Time being now pretty far advanced (as was hinted to his Lordship by the Sheriffs Desire) Mr. *Foster* told him, that after having taken a few Minutes to compose himself, he thought it would be proper to allow him to pray with him, and then proceed to the Scaffold. After this Mr. *Foster* addressed himself to the Spectators of this mournful Scene, to join with him fervently in this last solemn Office, and in recommending the Soul of an unhappy Person, who gave so many lively Marks of his sincere Penitence for the Crime of his Rebellion to the Mercy of God, with which Request they all readily comply'd.

Lord *Kilmarnock* had often protested, that he would, in his *last Moments*, pray for his King and Country, therefore Mr. *Foster*,
towards

towards the Conclusion of his Prayer for him, offered up the following Petitions to that Purpose; which my Lord had before, in the Tower, expressed his entire Satisfaction in, *And we now from our Hearts, and at the particular Desire of thy Servant, upon whose Account especially we presume at this Time to address thy Throne, and offer up our united fervent Prayers, that thou wouldst preserve, bless, and honour our only right-ful Sovereign Lord King GEORGE; that thou wouldst crown him with Glory and Renown; that in his Reign there may be abundance of Peace; that his Royal Progeny may long sit, with Lustre and Dignity, upon the Throne of these Kingdoms, undisturbed by Rebellions, and the Tumults of seditious and violent Men; and that our holy Religion, and inestimable British Liberties, may be transmitted down secure and sacred to our Posterity, even to the latest Generations.*

After Prayer was ended, Lord Kilmar-nock took his last Farewel of the Gentlemen who attended him in a very affectionate Manner, and went out of the Room, preceded by the Sheriffs, and accompanied by his Friends. As he was stepping into the Scaffold, notwithstanding the great Pains he had taken to *Familiarize* the outward Apparatus of Death to his Mind, Nature still recurred upon him; so that being

ing struck with such a Variety of dreadful Objects at once, the Multitude, the Block, his Coffin, the Executioner, the Instrument of Death, he turned about, and said to Mr. Home. Home, *this is terrible*. This Expression, so suitable to the awful Occasion, must, to all who know the human Heart, appear to be nothing else than the Language of Nature, and was far from being a Mark of unmanly Fear; being pronounced with a steady Countenance, and Firmness of Voice, Indications of a Mind unbroken and not disconcerted. His whole Behaviour was so humble and resigned, that not only his Friends, but every Spectator, was deeply moved; even the Executioner burst into Tears, and was obliged to use artificial Spirits to support and strengthen him.

Mr. Foster, having talked with his Lordship a considerable Time to support him in his Penitence and Resignation, embraced him, and then left him in the same calm Disposition, quitting the Scaffold some Minutes before his Execution.

The Executioner being introduced to him, asked his Lordship Forgiveness for the painful Office assigned him; which he very readily did and gave him a Purse of Gold, desiring him to have Courage, and acquainted him that the Signal for the Stroke should be the dropping a Handkerchief.

Specta-

Spectators at a Distance, not knowing the true Cause of the Stroke's being retarded, ascribed it to Pusillanimity : But, in reality, that Delay was owing only to a few trivial Circumstances which it is necessary to mention in Vindication of the Behaviour of that noble Penitent, which was uniformly conducted by the Rules of just Decorum, from all Imputation of unmanly Fear in the critical Moment. My Lord's Hair having been dressed in a Bag it took some Time to undo it, and put it up in his Cap. The Tucking his Shirt under the Waistcoat, that it might not obstruct the Blow, was the Occasion of some farther small Delay. But as soon as these Preliminaries were adjusted, his Lordship took out a Paper containing the Heads of his Devotion, went forward to his last Stage, and decently kneeled down at the Block. Whether it was to support himself, or as a more convenient Posture for Devotion, he happened to lay his Hands with his Head upon the Block ; which the Executioner observing prayed his Lordship to let his Hands fall down, least they should be mangled, or break the Blow. Then he was told, that the Neck of his Waistcoat was in the Way ; upon which he rose up, and with the Help of one of his Friends, (*Mr. Walkinshaw of Scotston*) had it taken off. This done, and the Neck made bare to the Shoulders,

Shoulders, he again kneeled down as before. And what sufficiently shews, that he enjoyed full Presence of Mind to the last, Mr. *Home's* Servant, who held the Cloth to receive the Head, heard him say to the Executioner, that, in two Minutes, he would give the Signal. That dreadful Interval, to his Friends, who were then upon the Rack, appeared much longer, but those who measured found it just about two Minutes. This Time he spent in most fervent Devotion, as appeared by the Motion of his Hands and now and then of his Head; having then fixed his Neck on the Block, he gave the Signal, his Body remained without the least Motion, except what was given it by the Stroke of Death, which he received full, and was thereby happily eased of all his Pain.

The Head was received into a Piece of Scarlet Cloth, and with the Body deposited in a Coffin on which was the following Inscription, *Willielmus Dominus de Kilmar-nock Decollatus. 18 die Augusti, 1746. Ætatis suæ 42.*

Thus deservedly fell, tho' humble and relenting, the late Earl of *Kilmarnock*, a Sacrifice to the Justice of his Country. His Person was tall and graceful, his Countenance mild, and his Complexion pale, and he had Abilities, if they had been properly applied, which might have rendered him capable

pale of bringing an Increase of Honour to his Family instead of Ruin and Disgrace.

The following Paper was delivered by the Earl of KILMARNOCK to Mr. FOSTER, the Day before his Execution, Sunday, August 17, 1746.

AS it would be a vain Attempt in me to speak distinctly to that great Concourse of People, who will probably be present at my Execution, I chuse to leave this behind me, as my last solemn Declaration, appealing for my Integrity, to God, who knows my Heart.

I bless God, I have little Fear of temporal Death, though attended with many outward Circumstances of Terror : The greatest Sting I feel in Death is, that I have deserved it.

Lord *Balmerino*, my Fellow-Sufferer, to do him Justice, dies in a professed Adherence to the mistaken Principles he had imbibed from his Cradle. But I engaged in the Rebellion, in Opposition to my own Principles and to those of my Family, in Contradiction to the whole Tenor of my Conduct, till within these few Months, that I was wickedly induced to renounce my Allegiance, which ever before I had preserved and held inviolable. I am in little Pain for
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the Reflections which the inconsiderate or prejudiced Part of my Countrymen (if there are any such whom my suffering the just Sentence of the Law has not mollified) may cast upon me for this Confession. The Wise, or more Ingenuous, will, I hope, approve my Conduct, and allow with me; That, next to doing Right is, to have the Courage and Integrity to own, that I have done Wrong.

Groundless Accusations of Cruelty have been raised and propagated concerning me, and Charges, spread among the People, of my having solicited for, nay, actually signed Orders of general savage Destruction, seldom issued among the most barbarous Nations, and which my Soul abhors. And, that the general Temper of my Mind was ever averse from, and shock'd at gross Instances of Inhumanity, I appeal to all my Friends and Acquaintance who have known me most intimately, and even to those Prisoners of the King's Troops to whom I had Access, and whom I ever had it in my Power to relieve; I appeal in particular, for my Justification as to this justly detested and horrid Crime of Cruelty, to Captain-Master of *Ross*, Captain Lieutenant *Rexon*, and Lieutenant *George Cuming* of *Alter*.

These Gentlemen will, I am persuaded, as far as relates to themselves, and as far as

has fallen within their Knowledge or credible Information, do me Justice ; and then surely, my Countrymen will not load a Person, already too guilty and unfortunate, with undeserved Infamy, which may not only fix itself on his own Character, but reflect Dishonour on his Family.

I have no more to say, but that I am persuaded, if Reasons of State, and the Demands of public Justice had permitted his Majesty to follow the Dictates of his own Royal Heart, my Sentence might have been mitigated. Had it pleased God to prolong my Life, the Remainder of it should have been faithfully employed in the Service of my justly offended Sovereign, and in constant Endeavours to wipe away the very Remembrance of my Crime.

I now, with my dying Breath, beseech Almighty God, to bless my only rightful Sovereign King GEORGE, and preserve him from the Attempts of public and private Enemies. May his Majesty, and his illustrious Descendants be so guided, by the Divine Providence, as ever to govern with that Wisdom, and that Care, for the public Good, as will preserve to them the Love of their Subjects, and secure their Right to reign over a free and happy People to the latest Posterity.

*The following is an Extract of a LETTER
of Lord KILMARNOCK to his Son.*

Dear BOYDE,

Dated, *Tower, Aug. 17, 1746.*

—— I must take this Way to bid you farewell, and I pray God may for ever bless you and guide you in this World, and bring you to a happy Immortality in the World to come. I must likewise give you my last Advice. Seek God in your Youth, and when you are old he will not depart from you. Be at Pains to acquire good Habits now, that they may grow up and become strong in you. Love Mankind, and do Justice to all Men. Do Good to as many as you can, and neither shut your Ears nor your Purse to those in Distress, whom it is in your Power to relieve. Believe me, you will find more Joy in one Beneficent Action, and in your cool Mornings you will be more happy with the Reflection of having made any one Person so, who without your Assistance would have been miserable, than in the Enjoyments of all the Pleasure of Sense (which pall in the Using) and of all the Poms and gaudy Shew of the World. Live within your Circumstances, by which Means you will have it in your Power to do Good to others. Above all Things, continue in your Loyalty

to his present Majesty and the Succession to the Crown, as by Law established. Look on that as the Basis of the civil and religious Liberty and Property of every Individual in the Nation. Prefer the Public Interest to your own, wherever they interfere. Love your Family and your Children, when you have any; but never let your Regard for them drive you on the Rock I split upon, when on that Account I departed from my Principles, and brought the Guilt of Rebellion and civil and particular Desolation on my Head, for which I am now under the Sentence justly due to my Crime. Use all your Interest to get your Brother pardoned and brought home as soon as possible, that his Circumstances, and bad Influence of those he is among, may not induce him to accept of foreign Service, and lose him both to his Country and his Family. If Money can be found to support him, I wish you would advise him to go to *Geneva*, where his Principles of Religion and Liberty will be confirmed, and where he may stay till you see if a Pardon can be procured him. As soon as Commodore *Barnet* comes home, enquire for your Brother *Billie*, and take Care of him on my Account. I must again recommend your unhappy Mother to you. Comfort her, and take all the Care you can of your Brothers: And may God of his infinite
Mercy

Mercy preserve, guide, and conduct you and them through all the Vicissitudes of this Life, and after it bring you to the Habitations of the Just, and make you happy in the Enjoyment of himself to all Eternity.

My Lord *Kilmarnock* got the three following Petitions delivered. The First

To the KING's Most Sacred Majesty.

The humble Petition of WILLIAM Earl of Kilmarnock,

Sheweth,

THE Petitioner having met with the Condemnation justly due to his Crime, presumes, throwing himself at your Majesty's Feet, to implore your Majesty's Royal Clemency, and, tho' very sensible that nothing can excuse or mitigate his Crime, hopes he may be considered in your Majesty's Eye, as an Object of Compassion and Pity.

His Family's constant Attachment to the Revolution Interest, and that of your illustrious House, his Father's Zeal and Activity in Support of both, when attacked by your late Royal Father's Enemies in 1715, his own appearing in Arms (tho' then but young) under his Father, the whole Tenor of his

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Conduct

Conduct since that Time, and the Sentiments of Duty and Loyalty in which he has educated his eldest Son, who now has the Honour of bearing your Majesty's Commission, tho' no Diminution of his Guilt, may yet let in a Presumption, that he has offended more from Rashness and the Designs of wicked and ill-disposed Persons, than from any Principle of Disaffection to your Majesty.

The Petitioner humbly begs Leave to acquaint your Majesty, that he influenced neither Tenant nor Follower of his to assist or abet the Rebellion; but, on the contrary, that between the Time of the Battle of *Preston*, and his unhappy Junction with the Rebels, he went to the Town of *Kilmarnock*, influenced its Inhabitants, as far as he could, and by their Means their neighbouring Boroughs to rise in Arms for your Majesty's Service, which had so good an Effect, that 200 Men of *Kilmarnock* appeared very soon in Arms, and remained so all the Winter at *Glasgow*, or other Places as they were ordered. And even in the Midst of his greatest Delusion, when in Arms against your Sacred Majesty and your Authority, it was the Petitioner's constant Care (as far as in his Power) to protect your faithful Subjects from Injury in their Persons or Estates. He extended his Care to such of your Majesty's

jeſty's Troops as had the Misfortune of falling into the Hands of the Rebels, both Officers and private Men, finding better Uſage, and their Condition rendered more ſupportable thro' his Means, than it would otherwiſe have been; as many of them can, and the Petitioner believes will, teſtify when called upon.

The Petitioner was not taken, but ſurrendered himſelf at the Battle of *Culloden*, having left thoſe he was joined with, when they were got ſo far, that moſt, if not all of them eſcaped, except himſelf, who from thence turned down to the Ground where the Dragoons were drawn up at a conſiderable Diſtance, and this at a Time when he might eaſily have made his Eſcape, being near no Body, nor any in purſuit of him. He choſe Submiſſion as far preferable to Obſtinacy in Rebellion. His firſt Principles revived in his Breſt. He determined rather to run the Riſque of an ignominious Death, as the Atonement of his Treason, than to recur to and become dependant upon a foreign Power, that Power eſpecially being the natural Enemy of his Country, and your Ma- jeſty the Father of it.

Under theſe Circumſtances, SIR, it is, that the unhappy Petitioner (more ſo from Remorſe of having violated his Allegiance to your Maſteſty; than from the Sentence

he lies under) dares to approach your Throne, and implore your Royal Mercy, and which he hopes for, as he cannot reproach himself with any Guilt precedent to this fatal Breach of his Duty.

To His Royal Highness the PRINCE
of WALES.

*The humble Petition of WILLIAM Earl of
Kilmarnock,*

Sheweth,

THAT though the Petitioner met with the Condemnation justly due to his Crime, presumed to throw himself at his Majesty's Feet, and implore his Majesty's Royal Clemency; and, though very sensible that nothing can excuse or mitigate his Crime, hopes he may be considered by his Majesty as an Object of Compassion.

His Family's constant Attachment to the Revolution Interest, and that of your illustrious House; his Father's Zeal and Activity in support of both, when attacked by his late Majesty's Enemies in 1715; his own appearing in Arms (though then but young) under his Father; the whole Tenor of his Conduct since that Time; and the Sentiments of Duty and Loyalty in which he has
educated

educated his Eldest Son, who now has the Honour of bearing his Majesty's Commission, though no Diminution of his Guilt, may yet let in a Presumption, that he has offended more from Rashness and the Designs of wicked and ill-disposed Persons, and other Causes, than from any Principles of Disaffection to his Majesty.

The Petitioner humbly begs Leave to acquaint your Royal Highness, That he influenced neither Tenant nor Follower of his to assist or abet the Rebellion. But on the contrary, That, between the Time of the Battle of *Preston*, and his unhappy Junction with the Rebels, he went to the Town of *Kilmarnock*, influenced the Inhabitants, as far as he could, and by their Means likewise influenced their neighbouring Boroughs, to rise in Arms for his Majesty's Service; which had so good an Effect, that 200 Men of *Kilmarnock* appeared very soon in Arms, and remained so all the Winter at *Glasgow*, or other Places, as they were ordered. And even in the Midst of his greatest Delusion, when in Arms against his sacred Majesty and his Authority, it was the Petitioner's constant Care (as far as in his Power) to protect his Majesty's faithful Subjects from Injury in their Persons or Estates. He extended his Care to such of his Majesty's Troops, as had the Misfortune of falling into the Hands of
the

the Rebels; both Officers and private Men finding better Usage, and their Condition rendered more supportable, thro' his Means, than it would otherwise have been; as many of them can, and the Petitioner believes, will testify, when called upon.

The Petitioner was not taken, but surrendered himself at the Battle of *Culloden*, having left those he was joined with, when they were got so far, that most, if not all of them escaped, except himself; who from thence turned down to the Ground where the Dragoons were drawn up at a considerable Distance; and this at a Time when he might easily have made his Escape, being near no Body, nor any in pursuit of him. He chose Submission, as far preferable to Obstinacy in Rebellion. His first Principles revived in his Breast. He determined rather to run the Risk of an ignominious Death, as the Atonement of his Treason, than to recur to, and become dependant upon a foreign Power, the natural Enemy of his Country, and his Majesty the Father of it.

Your Petitioner therefore begs Leave, to implore your Royal Highness's Intercession with his Majesty in his Behalf, for a Life, which always has been, till this unhappy Interruption, and if spared, shall

shall be spent in the Service of his Majesty, of your Royal Highness, and your august House; and in the most fervent Prayers for the Happiness and Prosperity of your illustrious Family.

To his Royal Highness the D U K E.

*Petition of WILLIAM Earl of Kilmarnock,
Prisoner in the Tower of London, under
Sentence of Death,*

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Petitioner is already, on his Acknowledgment, convicted of the greatest of all Crimes, that of High-Treason, by Rebellion against his most Sacred Majesty and his Country, and has received the Sentence of Death justly due.

Your Petitioner has heard your Royal Highness was informed, that he was guilty of other aggravating Crimes, which alone would render him an Object of Horror and Detestation to all good Men, tho' the Guilt of Rebellion had not been added to them, that of advising the putting to Death those were Prisoners before the Battle of *Culloden*; and advising or approving of the bloody and barbarous

barous Order for giving no Quarter to his Majesty's Troops at that Battle.

Your Petitioner begs Leave to assure your Royal Highness, that he never gave, or had any Opportunity to give such Advice. That he never was at a Council, while he was so unhappy as to be engaged in the Rebellion, except one at *Derby*; for which he appeals to any in or about *London*, who may know, if ever he was seen at one.

Cruelty was never a Part of your Petitioner's Character, either in the former Part of his Life, or during his Engagement with the Rebels; and many Prisoners, all he had access to, will testify that his Behaviour to, and Care of them, shewed a very different Disposition. If ever there was such a Proposal made, with respect to the Prisoners, your Petitioner must have fallen under the Imputation of it, by a Mistake of Names, he himself having never heard of it.

For the Order to give no Quarter your Petitioner likewise protests he never knew or heard of any such Thing, till he was some Days a Prisoner at *Inverness*; nor could he give Credit to the Report of it, till he was assured your Royal Highness had got the original Order, sign'd, *George Murray*. And the Petitioner presumes, that Order must have been given by the Person who sign'd it of himself; for all Orders that ever came
to

to your Petitioner's Hands, were sign'd by Mr. Soulevan.

Your Petitioner most humbly intreats your Royal Highness, out of your princely Justice and Compassion, for an unfortunate Man, already unhappy enough from his Conscience of the Crime he is justly condemned for, to entertain no such Sentiments of him as would aggravate the Odium of his Memory, and add to the Guilt of his publick Offence, by private Injuries in the Conduct of it. And that your Royal Highness would be pleased to inform yourself of the Truth of what is above humbly represented, from those who may best know, and if it shall appear, or be presumeable, that your Royal Highness's Information has not been well grounded, or that any Mistake of Names has been the Cause of it; let no more be imputed to the Petitioner than he justly deserves. Let not his Character suffer for the Faults of others; and Cruelty and Inhumanity, without ground, be added to his public Crime of Rebellion.

*And if your Royal Highness shall, upon farther Examination, find Reason to believe your Petitioner innocent of these malicious and detestable Sentiments, he humbly begs Leave to implore your Royal Highness's Intercession with his Majesty in
his*

his Behalf, for a Life which always has been, till this unhappy Interruption, and shall, in all that may remain of it, be spent in the Service of his Majesty, your Royal Highness, and your august House; and in the most fervent Prayers for the Happiness and Prosperity of your illustrious Family.



T H E
L I F E
O F

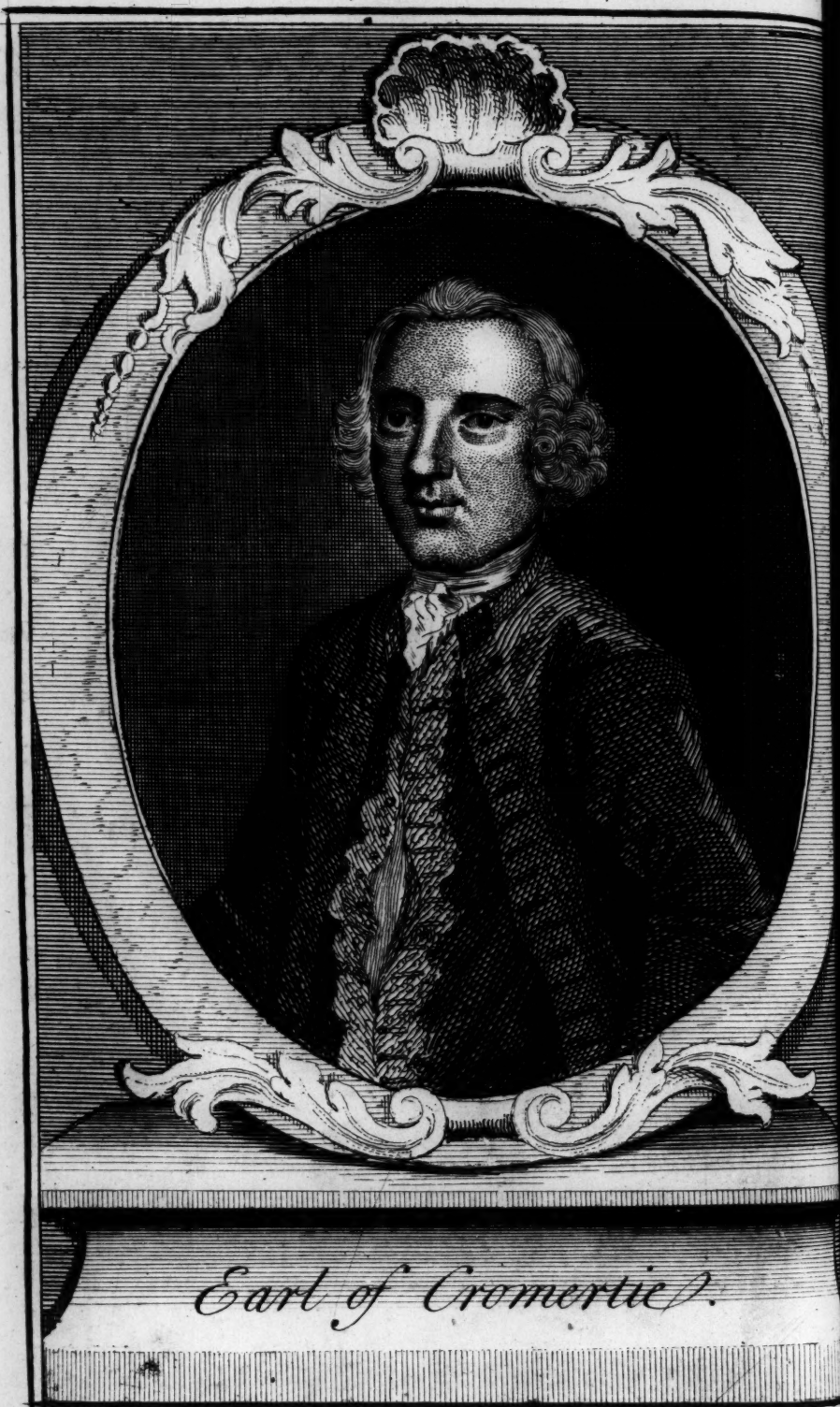
George Earl of Cromertie,

From the Time of his BIRTH to that of
his receiving Sentence of DEATH, and
His MAJESTY'S Most Gracious Respite
of that Sentence.



L O N D O N:

Printed for C. WHITEFIELD, in *White-Fryers,*
Fleet-Street. M D C C X L V I.



Earl of Cromertie.



T H E
L I F E
O F
George Earl of Cromertie.



G E O R G E M^c K E N Z I E,
Earl of *Cromertie*, Viscount *Tarbat*, Lord *M^cLoed* and *Castlehaven*, Hereditary Sheriff of the County of *Cromertie*, and Baronet of *Nova Scotia*, is of a Branch of the Family of *Seaforth*, so that in tracing his Descent, we must go back as far as the Original of that Family.

The Name of *M^cKenzie* is one of the most antient, and among the most numerous of the Clans of *Scotland*: They account for their Name, and their Original, in the following Manner: In the Year 1263, the

L

Danes

Danes and *Norwegians*, under the Command of *Acho*, King of *Norway*, made a Descent upon the West Coast of *Scotland*, with a great Fleet of Ships, and 20,000 Men: This Descent being rumoured abroad, several young Gentlemen, who wanted to push their Fortune, came over from *Ireland* to the Assistance of *Alexander* the Third of *Scotland*; amongst the rest *Collin Fitzgerald*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Kildare*, or *Desmond*, who brought along with him a few Voluntiers, and came Time enough to join King *Alexander* at the famous Battle of the *Largs*, when the *Scots* obtained a signal Victory over the *Norwegians* and *Danes*: Our young Adventurer *Collin*, shewed himself worthy of the high Blood of the *Fitzgeralds*, and gave such surprizing Proofs of his Valour and military Skill, that the King took particular Notice of him, and rewarded his high Merit, by bestowing upon him the Lands and Barony of *Kintail*, in the Shire of *Ross*; which appears from a Charter under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, dated at *Kincardin*, in *January* 1266. The *Scotch* King, by this Means, secured our Adventurer to himself, and by giving him an Interest in, made him look upon himself as a Native of the Country, where he was now to settle.

Collin

Collin married a Daughter of the House of *Argyll*, and by her had a Son named *Keneth*, who succeeded his Father in the Barony of *Kintail*: This *Keneth* was as remarkable for Prowess and Valour as his Father, and in these unsettled Times, had many and frequent Opportunities of giving Proofs of it: He soon acquired a large Share of military Reputation, the only Quality in Esteem in those Days, and having a very numerous Issue, his Children were distinguished by the Patronymic *M'Keneths*, or the Sons or Children of *Keneth*, a Thing very common in that Country: From a Patronymic, they came to use it as a Surname, forgetting that of *Fitzgerald* entirely, and by Degrees *M'Keneth* came, by Corruption, to be changed to the present Orthography *M'Kenzie*. They remained Barons of *Kintail* from this Time, till 1623, when they were created Earls of *Seaforth*, a Space of near four hundred Years.

Keneth, the second Baron of *Kintail*, was equally remarkable with his Father for Deeds of Arms; and what was extraordinary in a military Man, was very religiously disposed. He was a rigid Observer of all the Feasts and Fasts of the Church; moderate in all his Passions, which he endeavoured to keep still in greater Subjection, by the most severe religious Penance. He was charitable

to the Poor, but carried his Largenesses to the Priests and Begging Orders, to a Degree of Excess; he spent his Income, which was considerable in those Days, in Acts of Charity and Hospitality. When he died, he left all his personal Estate to the Church, dividing it amongst the several adjacent Monastries, and left a large Rent-Charge upon his real Estate, to be paid to the Monks of *I. Collum. Kill* for saying a Number of Masses for the Repose of his Soul, and that of his Ancestors: This was the religious Foible of those Days, which the Priests found many Opportunities to improve to their Advantage; but later Ages have found out a Way to Heaven less expensive to themselves, and less destructive of their Patrimonial Estates.

He was Father of *Keneth*, the third Baron of *Kintail*, who happened to be at some publick Meeting with *Mackay*, Ancestor of the Lord *Rea*, where a Quarrel of small Significancy happened, yet was carried on with a great deal of Spleen and Rancour, by the Adherents of both Sides, for several Years. They had several Skirmishes, being both Chieftains, considerable for the Number of their Followers, which were determined sometimes in Favour of the one, and sometimes of the other; but it was the Misfortune of the Baron of *Kintail*, to lose his
Life,

Life, by a random Shot of an Arrow, in one of these Engagements, tho' his Men got the better of the *Mackays*.

To him succeeded *Murdoc*, the fourth Baron of *Kintail*, who endeavoured to revenge his Father's Death upon the *Mackays*; but both Parties finding themselves sensibly weakened by this unnatural Contention, they, by the Interposition of some neutral Friends, accommodated their Differences amicably; and to cement their Union, and take away all Colour of Animosity, a Match was concluded between *Murdoc*, the young Baron of *Kintail*, and a Daughter of *Mackays*, which had the desired Effect, and the two Families remained in perfect Peace and Union, to the great Joy of both their Clans and their Neighbours, who were much embarrassed by these intestine Feuds.

Murdoc died and left Issue, by the fore-mentioned Match, *Alexander*, a Youth of great Parts and distinguished Courage; he happily saw his Family freed from all private Quarrels, so that he had an Opportunity of exercising his great Talents in a more honourable Cause, than in deciding petty Disputes with his Neighbours; that was, in Defence of his King and Country.

The Kingdom was then engaged in a War with the *English*: The young Baron was emulous of Glory and military Reputation,

tation; and therefore soon repaired to the King's Standard, tho' it was not yet his Turn to be summoned; he carried with him several of the young Men of his Clan, who were fired with the same Desire of Fame, which actuated their young Chief. He had married into a potent Family, a Daughter of *Mac-Dougald*, of *Lorn*, who, on this Occasion made several of his best Men join his Son-in-Law, that he might appear at Court with the greater Lustre. Our young Warrior was very well received by King *James IV*, but unhappily for him, his Thirst of Glory only hastened his End, and all the Advantage he reaped by it, was to be buried with the Flower of the *Scotch* Nation in that fatal Field of *Flodden*, where *James IV*, and most of the Nobility lost their Lives.

To him succeeded *Keneth*, of whom Records make no farther mention, but that he married a Daughter of *Hugh Lord Lovat*; a Match very natural and political, since in those Days it was as natural for Chiefs of Clans to make Alliances with such of their Neighbours as could assist them with Men, as it is now for Kingdoms to value Alliances in Proportion to the Power and Strength of the Kingdom allied. He left Issue four Sons and a Daughter.

John

John the Eldest succeeded, who applied himself early to Business, and endeavoured to cultivate in himself, rather the Arts of Peace than those of War; he was esteemed the most judicious Man in this Part of the Country; and was generally the Arbitrator of all the Differences that happened in it, which he composed, for the most Part, to the Satisfaction of all Parties concerned. He grew exceeding popular in his Country; and upon his Arrival at the Court of King *James V*, that Monarch soon took Notice of his Ability, promoted him to several Places of Trust as well as Profit, and finding his Fidelity equal to his Capacity, he admitted him into his Privy Council. He preserved his Character and Reputation untainted till his Death, and was succeeded in his Barony of *Kintail*, by his Son *Keneth*.

Keneth, by no means answered the Pains his Father had taken with him, to form him for great Things; nor the Expectation the World might conceive of the Son of such a Father. He had none of those shining Abilities which had raised his Successor to the Rank of a Statesman; and the best that could be said of him, was, that he was not remarkably vicious. However, he married honourably, and according to the Dignity of his Birth, *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *John*,
Earl

of *Athol*, a Branch of the House of *Stewart*, which bore that Title, and by her had Issue several Sons.

Collin, the Eldest, succeeded to the Barony of *Kintail*, at a very troublesome Period of Time, when the Kingdom was rent and divided by intestine Broils, in the Beginning of the unhappy Reign of *Queen Mary*; and was numbered among the few Loyalists who followed the Fortune of that distressed Princess, as long as there was any Room for rational Hope of doing her any Service. He commanded a Part of her Army at that fatal Battle fought near *Hamilton*; and gave signal Proofs of his personal Valour as well as Conduct. Upon her Majesty's Flight into *England*, he was amongst the last of her Friends, who submitted to the Regency appointed during the Minority of her Son, King *James VI.*

Notwithstanding he had been a zealous Stickler for the Queen-Mother, against the Partizans of the young King; yet he knew so well how to accommodate himself to the Exigence of the Times, that he so soon wrought himself into the Confidence of the young Monarch, that he declared him one of his Privy-Council, and held him in general Esteem all his Life-Time; tho' he used more Freedom with his Majesty than any other of the Courtiers, in upbraiding him

him for his Indolence in the Defence of his Mother against the Tyranny of Queen *Elizabeth*.

He married *Barbara*, Daughter of *John Grant*, of *Grant*, Chief of the Name of *Grant*, and Ancestor of the present Sir *James Grant*, of *Grant*; by her he had Issue one Daughter, named *Margaret*, who married *Simon Lord Lovat*, and three Sons *Keneth*, *Roderick*, and *Collin*.

Keneth, the Eldest, succeeded his Father, and was for the first Time created a Baron in Parliament, by the Name and Title of Baron of *Kintail*. His Grandson was afterwards created Earl *Seaforth*, which Title that noble Family enjoy'd untainted, till, by the Folly of the last Earl, the Honours were forfeited for his Appearance in the Rebellion in the Year 1715. But we have no farther Occasion to pursue the Lineage of this Family, since *Roderick*, the second Brother of this first Lord *Kintail*, was Ancestor to the Earl of *Cromertie*, whose Genealogy we are now tracing.

Roderick was a Gentleman of distinguished Merit, and recommended himself to King *James VI.* by whom he was Knighted. Tho' he was no Friend to the Encroachments that Monarch endeavoured to make upon the People, by claiming more Prerogative than was consistent with the Nature of the

Crown of *Scotland*, he constantly opposed in Parliament all Acts that tended to enlarge the Power of the Crown; tho' his Opposition, and that of the few who joined him, had little or no Effect, the *English* Treasury which King *James* lavished away among his greedy Courtiers, still procured him a Majority in the Senate; *English* Money proving always too prevalent against the strongest Efforts of Reason or Justice; which were all the Friends of Liberty had, to oppose to the Designs of a Ministry, who had determined to put a Price upon every Thing. *Roderick* soon found that his Zeal for his Country was of no Signification, could bring Her or Liberty no Relief, but only exposed his own Person to the Malice and Resentment of a worthless Set of Courtiers: He therefore wisely withdrew from Court, and retired to the Country; where he married *Margaret*, Daughter and sole Heiress to *Torquil M'Leod*, of the *Lewes*, by which Match, besides having a considerable Fortune with her, he added to his Arms, in Right of his Wife, Or, a Mountain in Flame Proper; which the Earl of *Cromertie* wears to this Day. He died in 1625, leaving Issue, four Sons and one Daughter.

John, the Eldest, succeeded to his Father's Virtues, as well as his Estate, had a large Share of natural Parts, as well as of acquired Learning;

Learning; he excelled in the polite Arts, and was accounted one of the most accomplished Gentlemen of his Age: He was a zealous Friend to Liberty, and of unshaken Loyalty to his Sovereign *Charles I*, by whom he was created a Baronet of *Nova Scotia*. The Times he lived in were full of Trouble and Dangers, and required the utmost Skill to reconcile his Loyalty to the Prince, and his Duty to his Country; yet he happily found out the Golden Mean, to preserve both, amidst all the Hurry and Confusion of the Times, without making Shipwreck of either. He attached himself to his Majesty, as long as his Measures were just, and his Views were bounded by the established Laws of the Land, and the Freedom of the Constitution, but left him, and as zealously served the Parliament, when his Majesty seemed inclinable to make any Encroachments upon either. He distinguished between a Love of Liberty and Faction; between Freedom and Licentiousness; between Loyalty, founded upon Principles consistent with the Nature of Government, and a slavish Subjection to the arbitrary Dictates of the Sovereign Will.

Thus pursuing no Scheme but the Honour of his Prince, and the Liberty of his Country, he lived at Peace in the Midst of Confusion, and found himself caressed by all

Parties, loved by honest Men, and feared by Knaves. He married *Margaret*, Daughter and one of the Coheiresses of *George Erskine*, of *Innecal*, Brother to *Thomas* Earl of *Kelly*; by whom he left two Sons. *Roderick*, the Youngest, took himself to the Study of the Law, in which he became eminent, and was promoted to the Dignity of one of the Senators of the College of Justice. He married *Margaret*, Daughter of *Alexander Burnet*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew*; by whom he had *Alexander* Lord *Lovat*.

Sir *John* had likewise five Daughters, one of whom was married to *Hugh* Lord *Lovat*, and another to *Keneth* Earl of *Seaforth*.

George, his Eldest Son succeeded him in his Estate and Honours; as also in his unshaken Loyalty and Fidelity to his exiled Sovereign King *Charles II.* He never could be persuaded to submit to the Usurper, but on all Occasions opposed his Measures, and gave him abundance of Trouble in the *North*, where his Interest and that of his Family lay: He kept up, notwithstanding all the Caution *Cromwell* could put in Practice, a constant and close Correspondence with the Royal Exile, during the whole Time of the Usurpation. From him he had a Commission to levy what Forces he could for his Majesty's Service and Restoration: Tho' he had

had no Occasion to raise Forces to bring about that Affair, yet when that Event was completed, and his Majesty safely settled upon the Throne of his Ancestors, he was amply rewarded for his Loyalty and Zeal; a good Fortune, which was not the Fate of many noble Families, who suffered for their Loyalty, as well as expressed their Zeal: But Sir *George* was so happy as to please; being a Man of Wit, Humour, and Learning, which hit the Taste of this merry Monarch, and perhaps contributed as much to Sir *George's* Advancement, if not more, than all his Services, which were confessedly great: He was, immediately upon the Restoration, made one of the Senators of the College of Justice; and because the Revenue of that Place was not sufficient to support his Dignity, or reward his Merit, he was put into an Office, which seemed a Title incompatible, *viz.* that of Clerk Register: This was a kind of Plurality in Law Livings, as little justifiable as those of the Church, but few that are possessed of either, think them a Sin, or if they do, the Salary proves a sovereign Styptic for the Wound which that makes in their Conscience. He was admitted one of the Privy-Council; and that he might have as many of the Offices of the Law as possible, he was shortly after made Lord Justice-General of the whole Kingdom,

an Office which had been hereditary in the Family of *Argyll*, till the Marquess of that Title made a Surrender of it in the preceding Reign. These Offices he enjoy'd during all that Reign, and the next, when, to all his other Honours, was added that of being created a Viscount and Baron by King *James VII.*

Such a Number of Places, and such an Inundation of Honours, heaped upon one Man, made many believe that they were obtained by Concessions, not very favourable to Sir *George's* Character, as a real Lover of his Country. It is certain Sir *George* followed the Court in all their Measures, and stuck at nothing that would promote the Schemes which they had in View, which happened not at all Times to be the most popular: Whether Sir *George's* Compliance with these Measures, flowed from a Conviction (tho' erroneous) of their Justice and public Utility, or from the Force and Influence of the many Places he enjoyed, I leave every Man to judge according to his Degree of Charity.

When the Oppression of *James VII.* banished him from the Kingdoms, Sir *George* did not think of following his Fortune, but wisely changed with the Times, and was as zealous a Defender of the Revolution as any Man: He made himself necessary to the Revolution-Ministry, and had the Address

dress to preserve his Post of Justice-General, amidst all their Changes.

In Queen *Anne's* Time he was admitted of the Privy-Council, and for some Time was Secretary of State, and allowed still to continue Justice-General; but whether he was not compliable enough in his Office of Secretary of State, or that the Party had served their Turn, he was turned out after the finishing a certain memorable and important Affair.

This was the first Earl of *Cromertie*, who died in the 89th Year of his Age, leaving Issue three Sons, *John*, the eldest, succeeded, who married *Anne Murray*, Daughter to the Lord *Elibank*, by whom he left Issue

George, the present Earl, whose Principles, till the late unhappy Rebellion, were never suspected to lean in the least towards *Jacobitism*; but, on the contrary, from his Infancy, he was educated in those of the established Church of *Scotland*, to which he always adhered till his late Misfortune; insomuch that he has, upon several Occasions, received the Thanks of the General Assembly of that Church for the substantial Proofs he gave, from Time to Time, of his sincere Attachment to their Interest. And soon after the breaking out of the Rebellion, we are told, that when his Majesty's Troops, under the Command of Sir

John Cope, arrived at *Inverness*, in the End of *August* 1745, the Earl immediately waited upon him, and, agreeable to his Principles and Inclinations, as well as his Duty, made a Tender of all his Power and Influence in suppressing the Rebellion, but such Assistance was not then judged necessary.

After the Action of *Preston-Pans*, when Commissions were issued for raising Independent Companies, under the Direction of Mr. *Forbes*, President of the Court of Session in *Scotland*, Application was made for a Company for his Son, the Lord *M'Leod*; and as he had Reason to hope with Success, he directed the Gentlemen, whom he intended for Subalterns in the Company, to levy the Men, and the Levies went on accordingly; and the Earl's Zeal for the present Government, as his Friends say, continued unshaken until this Period: And for the Truth of this my Lord appeals to Sir *John Cope*, Mr. *Forbes*, and to the Attestations of eight *Presbyterian* Ministers, in the Hands of his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*.

But when it was known that the Subalterns in Lord *M'Leod's* Company were to be named by the Lord *Fortrose*, and the Subalterns that the Earl had in View were disappointed, he was immediately beset by designing Men, and they used all their Art and Cunning upon him, to seduce him from his

his Duty; but no Reason, his Friends say, whatsoever could have had this Effect, if he had not been intoxicated with Liquor, and he no sooner recovered his Understanding, but he reflected with Horror upon what he had done; and my Lord for this appealed to Mr. Brodie, Lord Lyon's Declaration, in the Hands also of the Duke of *Newcastle*, and to the Knowledge of the other Members of both Houses of Parliament in his Neighbourhood.

Soon after my Lord engaged in the Rebellion, he went to *Perth*, and continued there a Month in a private Capacity. He did indeed afterwards accept of a Command to levy the Cess, Excise, and other Contributions in the Shires of *Fife* and *Kinross*, to the Amount of 13000 *l.* but he preserved such Discipline among the Soldiers under his Command, that tho' he intimated his Orders upon Pain of military Execution, agreeable to the Terms in which they were delivered to him, yet he avoided all Methods of enforcing them, and returned without levying any Thing.

Upon his Return from this Command, he went, attended only by his own Domesticks, to a Gentleman's House, where he resided for some Time in a private Way, without Command or Commission, and without taking upon him any Concern but a Continuance

tinuance of good Offices for the Ease and Protection of his Majesty's Subjects.

His Lordship, it is said, and many more in the Rebel Army were equally disgusted at the Preference given *Sullivan*, and some joined in a Remonstrance to have him removed; which had no Effect, but to distract their Councils, since the young Pretender knew the Value of the Man too well to part with him, on the Pique and Caprice of a few: They were in this Distraction, when Preparations were made for an Engagement, to which they were brought sooner than they imagined. But the Earl was not in it, he and his Son, the Lord *McLeod* being gone upon a Party into the Shire of *Ross*, and, it is said, intended not to have joined the Rebels any more, but to have taken the first Opportunity to leave them.

The Fate of the Battle of *Culloden* made it needless for his Lordship to return, however he might be inclined; and therefore he was said to be preparing to set out for *France*, when he was surrounded by the Earl of *Sutherland's* Men, and taken in the following Manner.

A Man sent in Disguise on the 12th of *April*, 1746, by *Robert Macallister*, who commanded Lord *Sutherland's* Militia, for Intelligence, returned on the 14th at Night

to *Kilsiderbeg*, where *Robert Gray*, Lord *Sutherland's* Factor, Captain of another Company, lay, and told the said *Robert Gray*, and Lieutenant *John Mackay*, of Captain *George Mackay's* Independent Company (who joined Captain *Gray* on the 12th with 400 Men) the Situation of the Rebels, on which they proposed to attack them the next Morning, and immediately sent an Express to Messieurs *Sutherland* and *Macallister*, to acquaint them with their Resolution, which they approved of; and Mr. *Macallister* came to them early next Morning with his Company, when they concerted, that Capt. *Macallister*, with his Company, should, by the Burn of *Golfspry*, attack the Rebels in Rear, while the two Companies, commanded by Messieurs *Gray* and *Sutherland*, should, from a Hill to the North-West of *Golfspry*, attack them in Flank. Mr. *Macallister* marched with his Company towards the Burn of *Golfspry*; and having in his March received Intelligence that Lord *Cromertie's* Regiment had marched towards the Ferry, but Lord *Cromertie* himself, with most of his Officers, were still at *Dunrobin*, Ensign *John Mackay* with 26 Men were sent to intercept them, and before the Ensign came up, some of the private Men, by firing briskly from the Kirk-yard of *Golfspry* on Lord *Cromertie*

Cromartie and his Officers, drove them back to the House of *Dunrobin*.

The Regiment understanding that Lord *Cromartie* was attacked, began to march back to their Relief, and thereupon *John Mackay*, with his small Party, retired to the adjacent high Grounds. Mean time Messieurs *Gray* and *Sutherland* coming to the Hill of *Cubmaly*, to the North-west of *Golspry*, in Terms of the Concert, and observing the Rebels returning from the Ferry, and drawing up in Order of Battle a Mile by West of *Golspry*, on a rising Ground, they concealed their Men on the Top of a Hill, and went themselves with the said Lieutenant *Mackay*, of Capt. *Patrick Sutherland's* Independent Company (who had also joined that Morning, but had no Men) down the Hill, the better to observe the Enemy's Numbers and Situation, whom they computed to be betwixt 4 and 500, and resolved to attack them where they had drawn up. Mr. *Sutherland* returned up the Hill where his Men were, and he and Lieutenant *Patrick Gray*, of Capt. *Gray's* Company, after telling them they were to engage the Enemy, desired they might keep a good Distance betwixt their Ranks, in their March down the Hill, so as to deceive the Enemy with respect to their Numbers, and kept nigh twenty Paces betwixt each Rank, which so deceived them, that

that they took *Sutherland's Men* (which were not full 200) to be 1400, as they afterwards learned. They were struck with a Pannick, and retreated towards the Ferry, and were pursued by the said two Companies, who, coming in upon their Flank, soon routed them, killed a considerable Number, and took 178 private Men Prisoners, with whom they marched to *Dunrobin*, whence Mr. *Sutherland* and Company went as Guards with the private Men to the Highlands. Lord *Cromertie* held out the House of *Dunrobin* till the Evening, and then, despairing of Relief, Messieurs *Gray* and *Macallister* were, at his own Desire, admitted into the House of *Dunrobin*, to commune with him about surrendering; and Ensign *John Mackay* having got in with them, went down Stairs while they were communing, and told a few Men, that were in Arms within the Close, that Lord *Cromertie*, &c. had surrendered; upon which they delivered their Arms a few Minutes sooner than they would otherwise have done; he opened the Gates, and allowed the Militia to enter, who immediately disarmed Lord *Cromertie* and the other Officers. Mr. *Gray* immediately dispatched one *William Monro*, Wright at *Golfspry*, to the Man of War at *Cromertie*, and next Day the Hawk Man of War came before *Dunrobin*, and all the private Men
and

and Officers were shipped on board her and the Hound Man of War, Capt. *Dove*, who came there after.

The Earl of *Cromertie* being sent to *London*, and committed Prisoner to the Tower, was tried and condemned, by his Peers, with the two Lords before mentioned; but before Sentence of Death was passed upon him, he made the following Speech at the Bar.

MY LORDS,

“ I HAVE now the Misfortune to ap=
 “ pear before your Lordships, guilty of
 “ an Offence of such a Nature as justly
 “ merits the highest Indignation of his Ma=
 “ jesty, your Lordships, and the Publick :
 “ And it was from a Conviction of my
 “ Guilt, that I did not presume to trouble
 “ your Lordships with any Defence. As
 “ I have committed Treason, it is the last
 “ thing I would attempt to justify. My only
 “ Plea shall be your Lordships Compassion,
 “ my only Refuge is his Majesty’s Clemency.
 “ Under this heavy Load of Affliction
 “ I have still the Satisfaction, my Lords, of
 “ hoping that my past Conduct before the
 “ breaking out of the Rebellion was irre=
 “ prochable, as to my Attachment to the
 “ present happy Establishment both in
 “ Church and State. And in Evidence of
 “ my

“ my Affection to the Government, upon
 “ the breaking out of the Rebellion, I appeal
 “ to the then Commander in Chief of his
 “ Majesty’s Forces at *Inverness*, and to the
 “ Lord President of the Court of Session
 “ in *Scotland*, who I am sure will do Justice
 “ to my Conduct upon that Occasion. But,
 “ my Lords, notwithstanding my deter-
 “ mined Resolution in Favour of the Go-
 “ vernment, I was unhappily seduced from
 “ that Loyalty, in an unguarded Moment,
 “ by the Arts of desperate and designing
 “ Men. And it is notorious, my Lords,
 “ that no sooner did I awake from that De-
 “ lusion, than I felt a Remorse for my De-
 “ parture from my Duty, but it was then
 “ too late.

“ Nothing, my Lords, remains but to
 “ throw myself, my Life and Fortune upon
 “ your Lordships Compassion; but of these,
 “ my Lords, as to myself is the least Part
 “ of my Sufferings, I have involved an af-
 “ fectionate Wife, with an unborn Infant,
 “ as Parties of my Guilt, to share its Pe-
 “ nalties; I have involved my Eldest Son,
 “ whose Infancy and Regard to his Parents,
 “ hurried him down the Stream of Re-
 “ bellion; I have involved also eight inno-
 “ cent Children, who must feel their Pa-
 “ rent’s Punishment before they know his
 “ Guilt. Let them, my Lords, be Pledges

“ to

“ to his Majesty ; let them be Pledges to
 “ your Lordships ; let them be Pledges to
 “ my Country for Mercy ; let the silent Elo-
 “ quence of their Grief and Tears, let the
 “ powerful Language of innocent Nature
 “ supply my Want of Eloquence and Per-
 “ suasion ; let me enjoy Mercy but no lon-
 “ ger than I deserve it ; and let me no
 “ longer enjoy Life than I shall use it to de-
 “ face the Crime I have been guilty of.
 “ Whilst I thus intercede to his Majesty
 “ through the Mediation of your Lordships
 “ for Mercy, let my Remorse for my Guilt
 “ as a Subject ; let the Sorrow of my Heart
 “ as a Husband ; let the Anguish of my
 “ Mind as a Father, speak the rest of my
 “ Misery. As your Lordships are Men, feel
 “ as Men, but may none of you ever suffer
 “ the smallest Part of my Anguish.

“ But if, after all, my Lords, my Safety
 “ shall be found inconsistent with that of
 “ the Public, and nothing but my Blood
 “ can atone for my unhappy Crime ; if the
 “ Sacrifice of my Life, my Fortune and
 “ Family, is judged indispensably necessary
 “ for stopping the loud Demands of public
 “ Justice ; and if the bitter Cup is not to
 “ pass from me ; *not mine, but thy Will,*
 “ *O God, be done.*”

This

This Speech was delivered on *Wednesday, July 30, 1746*, and on *Friday* following, (*August 1.*) my Lord received Judgment, which his Majesty has been since graciously pleased to respite, and we are told his Lordship will be sent to the Island of *Guernsey* to be kept Prisoner in the Castle there during his Majesty's Pleasure.

The Earl of *Cromertie's* private Character is very amiable; he is esteemed a polite Nobleman, and remarkably mild in his Disposition, and affable in his Temper and Behaviour, and has little or nothing of that austere Pride and Haughtiness, so peculiar to most *Highland* Chief. His Neighbours of inferior Rank found him a steady Friend, and the Poor a kind and generous Benefactor: His Children found in him an indulgent Father, and his Lady a tender and affectionate Husband.

His Lady is a Daughter of the late Sir *William Gordon*, and Sister of the present Sir *John Gordon*, of *Dallfolly*, Member of Parliament for the Shire of *Ross*; a Lady every Way qualified to make a Man happy: She is in her Person extremely agreeable, has a large Share of ready Wit, and a solid penetrating Judgment, to a Degree seldom to be met with in her Sex, and she has a Spirit and Constancy of Mind, few of them come up to, which the Part she has acted since

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her Lord's Confinement sufficiently testifies; for though she is big with Child, yet she has borne the Shock of her Misfortunes with a becoming Dignity, without betraying Insensibility, or yielding too much to any effeminate Marks of Grief: She has Nine Children alive, and the Tenth she is now pregnant of.

It may not be improper here to observe, with Mr. *Foster*, that tho' two of these Lords lived in the public Profession of the Church of *Scotland*, that it would be unjust to infer from thence, that the Principles of that Church encourage, or have the least Tendency to Sedition. The contrary is abundantly evident, both from her Doctrine and Practice; and especially from the loyal and steady Behaviour of her Ministers and private Members, during the whole Course of the late impious Rebellion. And the Presbyterians in *Scotland* are cleared, beyond all Contradiction, from this scandalous and base Imputation, by the honourable Testimony which his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* was pleased to give of their inviolable Zeal for the King's Person and Government, and Duty to their Country, in his Letter to the General Assembly, directed to the Earl of *Leven*, as his Majesty's High Commissioner. It is well known that the *Jacobites*, almost universally, are Dissenters from

from the Establishment: They are a Stain and Dishonour both to the *English* and *Scots* Churches, and their Principles disavowed by both. And indeed the Crime of so unprovoked and lawless Rebellion is branded as an Object of Detestation and Infamy by the public Doctrine of all Protestant Communions.

We may subjoin another Remark of a different Kind, and that is, that we can in no case, from the mere Boldness and Intrepidity of the Sufferer, infer the Goodness of his Principles: For we may even suppose a Man who has acted a Part in all the barbarous and diabolical Cruelties of the Inquisition, to be supported in the Hour of Death quite above Fear, and even to a Degree of Exultation, by a Reflection on his ardent Zeal for the Suppression of Heresy, and for the Honour of God, tho' exerted in such Instances, as the God of Mercy must necessarily abhor. The *Presumptions* of *Enthusiasm* are always more forward and assuming than the *Confidence* inspired by rational Religion. Hence it sprang, that within the Compass of a few Years after *Mahomet's* Death, his Successors, with an inconsiderable Force, over-ran the whole *Grecian* Empire. They courted, instead of dreading, Death, under the Delusion of dying *Martyrs* for Religion, tho' in Truth for a false

and bloody Superstition. Nothing can be more repugnant to common Reason, nor a grosser Reflection on the Wisdom and Justice of the Supreme Being, than to suppose, that he intended the greatest Part of his reasonable Creatures for *Slaves*; and has established the *lineal hereditary indefeasible* Right of *Tyrants*, to harass and oppress Mankind. Even *Transubstantiation* itself cannot, in my Opinion, be esteemed a Doctrine more absurd or impious.



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OF
Miss *JENNY CAMERON*,
THE
REPUTED MISTRESS
OF THE
Deputy PRETENDER.

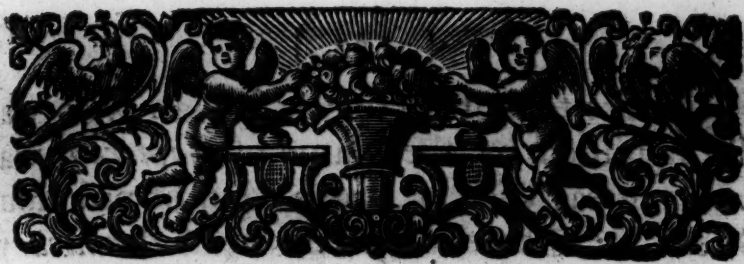


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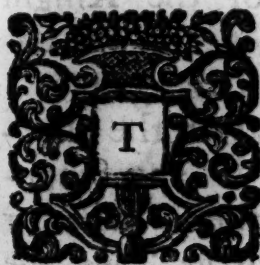
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Jenny Cameron.



THE
LIFE
OF
Miss JENNY CAMERON.



THE Family of the *Camerons* is very ancient in *Scotland*, and the Clan boasts of being one of the most numerous. The present *Lochiel*, Chief of the Name, pretends to be lineally descended from the first Man of the *Camerons*, who settled in that Part of the Country above 700 Years ago: But he must certainly stretch a little, since Surnames have not been so long in use in *Scotland*.

We

We are told, that the first Man who was distinguished by the Name of *Cameron*, was a very great Warrior, and a Man of prodigious Strength: There is a Stone near *Acknacary*, the Seat of *Lochiel*, that must weigh at least 500 Weight, which this Man could raise off the Ground with one Hand, and would toss it almost like a Foot-Ball: He could twist a Plough-Share like a-Twigg, and there were no Ropes of Hemp strong enough to bind him; in short, he seems to have been another *Sampson*, and challenged all the mighty Men of the Age to engage with him in single Combat, and always came off Victor; but in one of those Encounters he happened to meet with an Accident, which set his Nose a little on one Side, from whence he was distinguished by the Name of the Knight with the Wry-Nose, which the Word *Cameron* signifies in the *Highland* Language.

It is the Custom to this Day in the *Highlands*, to distinguish Persons by any Singularity which they have about them, whether a Beauty or a Blemish; such as *John* the Fair, *James* the Crooked, *John* the Blind, and so on; and it happened to be the Fate of this great Man to be nicknamed *Hugh* with the Wry-Nose: As Patronymics were much used in that Time, his Son, having no particular Beauty, or Deformity, of his own, was distinguished by the Name of
Charles

Charles Son of *Wry-Nose*, or *Cameron*, and this assumed by all their Successors as a Surname.

Having thus given the Original of the Name of *Cameron*; we will proceed to the rest of their traditional History. This first great Man with the *Wry-Nose*, came originally from the Shire of *Dumbarton*, and had come to that Part of the Country where *Lochiel's* Estate now lies, to make Suit to one of the Daughters of *M'Tavish*, Baron of *Straborgig*: The Man soon succeeded in his Suit, Strength and Valour being the only Qualifications fit to procure him Success, either with the Lady, or her Friends; as to an Estate, he was somehow to get that by his own Prowess, no Matter from whom he took it.

A Part of the Estate of *M'Donald* of *Glengary* lay contiguous to his Father-in-Law's, and therefore he fixed his Eyes upon it as the most proper to take hold of: To this End, he picked a Quarrel with *Glengary*, and the *M'Tavishes* and the *M'Donalds* went to Loggerheads: *Hugh Cameron* wanted much to have had Matters decided by single Combat, confiding most in his own personal Strength; but *M'Donald* of *Glengary*, though he did not want natural Courage, yet declined entering the Lists singly with so redoubted an Antagonist, but de-

pended upon the Superiority which his Clan had in Numbers, over that of *Cameron's* Father-in-Law.

They had several bloody Skirmishes, but still the *McDonalds*, tho' at a great Expence of Men, came off victorious by the Force of Numbers; so that *Cameron*, after a Struggle of several Years, found himself in no Likelihood of conquering an Estate, tho' in the Attempt he had considerably weakened the Family into which he had matched, which made them look with Indifference upon him.

Mr. *Cameron*, upon his Disappointment grew melancholy, and to divert himself went to make a Visit to his Relations in *Dum-bartonshire*, where he began to indulge his Spleen in so extraordinary a Manner, that it much alarmed his Friends, and especially an old Woman, who had been his Nurse, and who, according to the Custom of that Country, was fonder of him than Parents generally are.

This old Woman had, not without Reason, the Reputation of a Witch, and was said to be familiar with the *Devil*, whom she could send like a Foot Boy, upon her Errands, and whose Service she frankly proffered Mr. *Cameron*, her Foster-Son; but he was some Time before he would listen to her, but, at length, tired out with her Importunities,

Importunities, he consented to follow her Advice, which she assured him would bring him to the Possession of his utmost Wishes.

She advised him to return immediately to his Father-in-Law's, and to depend no more upon his Valour for his obtaining an Estate, but to trust to her Cunning for compassing his Ends. Hereupon she furnished him with a Parcel of Thongs, which, in the *Highland* Tongue, are called *Iels*, and directed him to make Use of them in this Manner: She advised him to catch a Fox alive upon his Father-in-Law's Estate, to the Tail of which he was to tie a Bundle of Thongs, in such Manner as that they should trail upon the Ground, and then let the Fox loose; the Consequence of which, she said, would be, that all the Land the Fox should run over, and surround with the Thongs, should be his and his Heirs for ever; and that the Land, so run over, should be converted into the same Nature with that Ground which the Thongs last touched of his Father-in-Law's Estate. That *Cameron* might have a good Estate, as well as a large one, he let the Fox loose upon a fine Meadow, just bordering upon *M'Donald* of *Glengary's* Estate, thinking by this Means, that he should have all the promised Land, and that it would all consist of fine Meadow.

The Charms were performed with Ceremony, and the Fox set loose after pronouncing several Incantations, which the old Woman had directed, and that he might travel the faster, and take the Course which they intended, they set the Dogs after him.

The Creature, glad of his Liberty, and willing to preserve himself from the Dogs, endeavoured to elude their Chace, by running into a little Brook that passed thro' the Meadow where he was set at Liberty: Then the Dogs lost Sight and Scent of him, and he kept along the Channel, till he came to the Estate of *Glengary*: Water being the last Thing the enchanted Thongs touched, as fast as the Fox ran, Water overflowed the whole Country; so that in the Space of a few Hours, all the Valley, for several Miles together, was one continued *Loch*, or *Lake*. The *M'Donalds* were affrighted at this unnatural Inundation, and such of them as had Time to escape, removed their Habitations higher up into the Mountains; and left this Lake, and the adjacent Hills, to be peaceably enjoyed by *Cameron* and his Followers.

What became of the Fox, or where he stopped, History does not relate, but from this *Loch* it is called *Lochiel*, or the Lake of Thongs,

Thongs, and from the *Loch* the Chief of the *Camerons* take their Title.

This Story, how fabulous soever it may appear, is gravely reported by the *Camerons*, and seriously believed. That the whole Fiction may conceal some Truth thus allegorically related, we are apt enough to believe; yet the true Meaning lies so deep buried in the Fable, that it is impossible to make the least Conjecture about what it imports; however, we may conclude from this, that the *Camerons* are a very old Generation; since there appears so much Fable in their History; and this we may take as a Specimen of the Records of the *Highland* Bards, who are the chief Support of the Antiquity of *Highland* Families; since we find most of them made up of Legends, as incongruous and improbable as what is above related.

There has been a constant Succession of great Men, representing this House, down from this *Hugh* Knight of the Wry-Nose, to the present *Lockiel*, famous in the late Rebellion. They have preserved the Estate ever since, and matched with some of the best Families in the Shires of *Argyll* and *Inverness*; the Revenue of their Estate never exceeded five hundred Pounds a Year, and is held in Vassalage, Part of the Duke of *Gordon*, and Part of the Duke of *Argyll*.

Sir *Hugh Cameron*, Grandfather of the present *Lochiel*, was a strenuous Partizan of King *Charles I.* It is reported of him, that one Day, he and his Party being engaged with a Detachment from *Cromwell's* Army, he was thrown down by one of the *English* Soldiers and disarmed; but tho' Sir *Hugh* was at the Mercy of the *English* Soldier who might have taken his Life, but offered him Quarter, yet, so strong was his Antipathy to the very Name of an *Englishman*, that he scorned to accept it, and suddenly jumping up with his Teeth seized fast hold of the Soldier's Throat, which he could not be forced from till he had tore a Hole in the Fellow's Wind-pipe, and killed him on the Spot.

Sir *Hugh Cameron*, his Son, imbibed the same Aversion to the *English*, and carried it to as great Lengths, in every Instance of his Life, or as often as Opportunity served him to shew it; and he had so inseparably attached himself to the Family of *Stuart*, that no Consideration whatever could ever induce him to abandon that Party, or their Interests. At the Revolution no Man was a more zealous Assertor of the Rights of King *James* than Sir *Hugh*, and he was actually in Arms and served under the Lord *Dundee*, who being defeated, Sir *Hugh* thought it highly necessary for him to leave his own Country,

Country, and retire to *France*, and resided many Years at the Court of *St. Germain's*, subsisting on a Pension allowed by the *French King*; and when, by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, the Pretender was obliged to quit *France*, Sir *Hugh* followed him to *Avignon*, and was with him afterwards at *Rome*, tho' not constantly, but made his chief Residence at *Paris*. In the Year 1715 he came over to *Scotland* with the Pretender; but there is nothing material to be collected concerning him in that Expedition; and he went back again with his Master to *France*.

When the late Rebellion broke out, in 1745, he embarked with the Chevalier in the Expedition against *Scotland*, where, tho' he was eighty Years of Age, he behaved with surprizing Activity, and bore all the Fatigues of that rough Campaign with uncommon Fortitude and Stedfastness, and sat and managed his Horse with a Gracefulness and Agility scarce paralleled by any Officer in the Rebel Army; however, he lost his Life at the Battle of *Culloden*, in Defence of his pretended Prince; and it was pity his Courage and other good Qualities had not been employed in a better Cause.

As to young *Lochiel*, the Son of the last mentioned Sir *Hugh Cameron*, he never was abroad with his Father, but lived quietly at

home upon his Estate; he had not imbibed those inveterate Principles against the *English*, and the Royal Family, as his Predecessors had done, and never shewed any Inclination to disturb the Government for the Sake of a foreign Interest, and all Circumstances considered and compared, we are pretty sure, that he knew nothing of the intended Invasion, till the young Pretender was actually landed in *Scotland*. For upon a Muster of his whole Clan, they had not an hundred Stands of Arms among them all, and but few of them in a Condition for Use, nor had he any Provision to furnish them with better. It is true, when the Chevalier was actually landed, his Father sent him express Orders to raise the whole Clan immediately, and to come with them at their Head to join the Pretender: Young *Lochiel* however was far from being ready to obey his Summons, he was sensible of the Risque he should run, not only in his Person, but his Estate, he considered that at present he lived very happily unmolested and unenvied by any Body, but should he comply with his Father's Request, and the Enterprize miscarry, he should be utterly ruined without a Possibility of Redemption. These Reasons were strong and cogent, and kept him a good while irresolute, or rather firm to his Purpose of not meddling in so dangerous

gerous an Affair ; and therefore he continued unmoved by all the Sollicitations made to him to change his Mind for the Space of six Weeks ; tho' the Chevalier and his Father were all that Time at the House of *M^r Donald* of *Kenloch Moidart*. At last the young Deputy Pretender himself came to his House at *Acknacary*, with about fifty Persons in his Retinue, together with old Sir *Hugh Cameron* his Father. On their Arrival the old Gentleman immediately shewed himself to his Clan, who were greatly rejoiced to see their old Chief among them again. The Son had now nothing left him but to obey his Father's Command, like his other Vassals.

The Clan of the *Camerons* are about eight Hundred fighting Men, that is, they were computed to be able to bring that Number into the Field at any Time before the Commencement of the Rebellion, and strong, robust, active Men, as well skilled in the Exercise of Arms as any of the Clans of *Scotland*, and as little addicted to Pilfering, so common amongst their Neighbours the *M^r Donalds* ; the present young *Lochiel* having made it his Study to keep them honest, and spent most of his Time in polishing them, and administering Justice amongst them, which he did to such a Degree of Severity, that he perhaps had as little of the Affection of his People as any Chieftain whatever ;

whatever; for the other Chiefs often gain the Good-Will of their Clan, by conniving at either their Fraud or Violence; but *Lochiel* would purchase their Friendship at no such Rate. He thought his Authority sufficient to keep them in Subjection, and never troubled his Head whether they obeyed him out of Love or Fear.

There are but few Gentlemen of the Name settled in *Scotland*, tho' there are a considerable Number of them Abroad in the Service of *France* and *Spain*; the younger Brothers of this House chusing rather to push their Fortunes in the Army, than live dependant at Home upon the small Patrimony which their Estates in that Country afforded them.

The Chief Branch of this Family is Mr. *Cameron* of *Glendessery*, of which House Miss *Jenny Cameron* is a Daughter. The Estate of *Glendessery* does not exceed one hundred and fifty Pounds a Year, yet he can raise very near as many Men as his Chief. *Hugh Cameron* of *Glendessery*, Miss *Jenny's* Father, was a Gentleman of very good Parts, and bore an exceeding good Character in his Neighbourhood, lived genteely, and yet kept within the Bounds of his Income, which he endeavoured to augment by his large Dealings in Cattle, a Business which Men of all Ranks follow in that Country. He bestowed

bestowed a liberal Education upon all his Children, but seemed lavish in his Expences upon Miss *Jenny*, who was his eldest and darling Daughter, but out of a mistaken Tenderness for her, was so long before he would put her under that Restraint which her Education required, that some Passions were suffered to take so deep Root in her Mind, that neither Time, Care, nor Expences, could afterwards eradicate them.

She was indulged, from her Infancy, in every Thing she had a Mind to, and the whole Family were a kind of Slaves to her Caprice; her natural Temper was hot and violent; and the Care that was taken to gratify all her Humours, rather increased than abated the natural Impetuosity of her Spirit: She soon discovered an uncommon Genius and a piercing Wit, which so pleased the Father, that he could by no Means think of curbing her Passions; for fearing of dulling this lively Genius, the cultivating of which he chose to prefer to that of the Improvement of her Judgment.

Miss, during her Stay in the Nursery, was the Plague of all the Family; yet her Follies, and wild Excursions pleased her doating Parents: She was altogether the Romp, and could never be brought to associate with her Sisters: She despised their Amusements, her Diversions were still among
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the Boys, and all her childish Actions shewed a Disposition more masculine than was common, even for Boys of her Years.

She was by no Means delicately or tenderly brought up; that being an Error which Parents never fall into in that Country: There was no Care taken of her Complexion, or her Shape, no Regimen of Diet observed to keep her lean; but in every Thing, Nature left to take its Course, in as wild a Manner as in the Animal Creation. She grew very soon to be a lusty robust Girl, and began now to be too big to be suffered any longer to romp with the Boys, and tho' she was yet but just turned of Eleven, she betrayed a Forwardness in her Disposition not common to Women of Twenty; and was discovered one Evening in the Cock-Loft attempting a Game of Romps with a Boy some Years older than herself: This convinced her Parents that there was no manly Exercise in which Miss could not bear a Hand; at least she had a strong Inclination to learn.

They found too late, that they had given her too much Liberty, and been too remiss in cultivating her Mind: But they durst not find Fault with the Indecency they had discovered, nor prohibit it, lest her Inclinations, which were always the fiercer by Opposition, should get the better of all their
Caution:

Caution: They fondly imagined, all that had happened was the Effect of pure Ignorance and unaffected Innocence; and thought if they made any Pother about it, that she might take it into her Head to be trying at it again: So the whole was laughed over in a Jest, but Ways and Means were found to send the Boy out of the Way, and Miss must now prepare to go to *Edinburgh* for her Education, she having as yet been taught nothing, except barely to read the *English* Bible, and could scarce speak a Word of any Thing but the vulgar *Highland* Tongue.

To be forced to be absent from her young Paramour gave her a great Deal of Trouble, which she did not so much as attempt to conceal; she raved and stormed, was mad and melancholy by Turns, and this seemed to be the first Thing that gave her any lasting Uneasiness: Her Behaviour did not a little afflict her Parents, who could now see that there was something growing, if not rooted in Miss's Disposition, which threatened their Family with Dishonour. They therefore hastened her Departure for *Edinburgh*, where she was put under the Tuition of an Aunt of *Lochiel's*, an old Lady of great Prudence and strict Virtue.

Miss's Father and Mother did not go about to conceal any Part of her Disposition
and

and former Behaviour from Mrs. *Cameron*; but rather thought it necessary to make her acquainted with all her Foibles, that she might the better guard against the ill Consequences of them: She had heard them by Report, but found that came short of the Truth. When Miss *Jenny* came to her Aunt at *Edinburgh*, she was a wild uncultivated Hoyden, who did not want Sense, and had a surprizing ready Wit, but was buried in a violent passionate Temper, impatient of the least Degree of Contradiction; but the Regard she had for the Family made her undertake the taming her.

By the Help of fine Cloaths, and some Trifles, that she had not been used to in the *Highlands*, she was kept within some Bounds for a few Days, and prevailed on to stay at home, tho' she thought she was to have been at as much Liberty to romp in the City, as at her Father's House in the Country: She soon grew weary of Restraint, and would have her own Way; Mrs. *Cameron* endeavoured, by all the fair and indulging Means possible, to bring her to some Reason, and was unwilling to use her with any kind of Severity; but Miss grew so turbulent, that the Lady found she must try what Effect a Course of wholesome Discipline would work upon her, and Miss soon gave her an Opportunity to put the Experiment

Experiment in Practice: She had done something which highly offended the old Lady, who chid her for it; but Miss laughed at her: In return Mrs. *Cameron* called her into her Closet, and there intended to give her some moderate Correction: Miss, not used to such Treatment, could not be brought to submit to it, but fell foul with her Fists on the old Lady, who was by no Means a Match for her; but was obliged to call out for Help to the Servants in another Room. She herself had locked the Door, and Miss held her down, beating her all the While with a Birch Rod, which the old Lady intended for another Use; so that the Servants could not get in without breaking open the Door, and the old Lady was obliged to capitulate with Miss, and promise her unlimited Indulgence for the future, and Forgiveness for the present: These Articles settled, and having now pretty much fatigued herself, she opened the Door, and let the Servants come in.

Mrs. *Cameron* proved, like the *French* King, no very rigid Observer of Treaties; so that Miss, with the Help of the Servants, found herself obliged to submit to a Course of Correction she had never known before, which the old Lady continued to repeat every Morning for a Fortnight, till she had pretty much humbled Miss's Spirit, and brought

brought her to a ready Compliance with her Will. This Method made her more tractable, and obliged her to an unwilling Application to her Education, but could force no Good into her Mind, nor eradicate from thence those vicious Principles she had imbibed; she now learned the Cunning to conceal those Inclinations she knew would be disagreeable to her Tutorefs, and to feign a Regard for Things to which her Mind was utterly averfe. She fo soon learned the Art of Diffimulation, that in a few Months she appeared to Mrs. *Cameron* quite altered. She was all on a sudden as grave as a Matron, and had quite forgot the Romp; yet this was all Affectation, for when out of her Sight, or that of those who would inform her, she was the same wild Thing as before: However, she advanced surprizingly in her Education; in less than two Years she was Mistress of the *French* and *Italian*, wrote a fine Hand, understood Figures sufficient for all the common Occurrences of Life, had learned to Dance, to play upon the Spinnet, and was a complete Needle-Woman: She was now grown tall, and the Difference of her Manner of living, had rendered her Shape more proportionable; it was naturally easy; her Features were agreeable, tho' somewhat strong, but her Complexion exceeding good; she has two large sparkling Eyes,

Eyes, with a wanton Softness about them that never failed to please, especially if she designed a Conquest. Her Stature is of the first Size, which added to a particular Majesty she has in her Mein, rendered her, when young, if not a Beauty, at least very agreeable.

She was now of an Age to be sensible of the Attractions of her Person, and, like most young Women, set rather a higher Value upon them than they really deserved: She had much of the Coquet in her Temper, and took great Pride in the Flattery and Courtship of Gentlemen, who as yet treated her only as a Child, tho' she imagined herself old enough to merit their most serious Addresses. Mrs. *Cameron* kept still a watchful Eye over her Conduct, and her Regard, or rather Fear of that Lady, kept her a little within Bounds, and hindered her from quite giving Way to her natural Gaiety, or rantipole Behaviour in public: But in private she let slip no Opportunities of indulging it.

Mrs. *Cameron's* Maid, who was one of those domestic Bawds, that are always ready to help their young Mistresses in the Pursuit of their amorous Inclinations, brought her into an Intimacy with *Sawney*, Mrs. *Cameron's* Footman, who had formerly lived in a Man of Quality's Service, who was
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likewise a Man of Pleasure, and with that Nobleman had been made acquainted with all the fashionable Vices and Follies of the Town: He was what they call a smart young Fellow, had no bad Face, and was well made. These three contracted a strict Friendship, and Miss was as familiar with her two Companions, as if they had been her Sister and Brother. Every Night as soon as Mrs. *Cameron* was gone To-bed, this Cabal began their Junketting and Pranks; for a Time they confined their Amusements to the House; but at last the Humour took them to go rambling in the Streets, Miss and the Maid dressing themselves in Men's Apparel, and attended by the Footman, they strolled about picking up the Women of the Town; with whom they sometimes went to a Bawdy-House, and carried the Frolic as far as their Sex would permit them: This Humour mightily pleased Miss, who was always impatient till Night came, that she might get rid of her Petticoats, and assume the Breeches, which suited her Temper much better than her own Dress: Then she gave a Loose to the natural Fire of her Spirits, and acted the Cavalier to a Miracle. They carried on this Trade for some Months without Discovery; but unluckily one Night, happening to be upon their Rambles, they went to a noted House

House in the Subrubs, known by the Name of *Lucky Spence's*; from whence *Sawney* the Footman was dispatched on some Message into the City, while the two Maiden Cavaliers engaged a couple of Mistresses over a Bottle. In the Interim a Quarrel happened in the House, and the Guards were called, who carried along with them all they found there, and among the rest our two Ladies in Masquerade: They had frequently before been in Jeopardy, but *Sawney* the Footman had always Address enough to get them off; but he being at this Time absent, they were hurried with a large Train of common Women to the Guard-House.

As they appeared like Gentlemen of Fashion, the Captain on Duty treated them with abundance of Respect, but could not discharge them till they were carried before a Magistrate the next Morning; they still concealed their Sex, but unluckily some of their She-Companions, judging of them by their Appearance, used Mifs with a kind of Familiarity common to these Creatures, and made a Discovery of what she wanted so much to conceal, which produced abundance of Mirth at their Cost among the Officers, who now looked upon them as Women who had a Mind to indulge themselves without scandalizing the Sex: They would have been familiar with our She-Cavaliers,

but Miss finding that she should be obliged to discover who she was, in order to get her Discharge the more easily, affected an Air of Modesty, and refused their Sollicitations.

The Officer happened to know Mrs. *Cameron*, and out of Respect to the Family, went and acquainted her with the Condition of her Kinswoman. The old Lady went immediately to one of the Magistrates, and prevailed on him to come down to the Guard and discharge our Adventurers. This Story, which could not be smothered as so many were privy to it, afforded Matter of Conversation to all the Tea-Tables in Town for several Days, and Miss was obliged to keep at home, not having quite Courage enough to face the Public. The Maid was turned off, but the Footman having Address enough to get home as soon as he found Miss was taken into Custody, concealed his being of the Party; and as it was not the Business of the other two to discover him, remained both in his Place, and in the Confidence of Miss, which he had now so much of, that she could deny him nothing: He had found out her weak Side, and guessed that tho' she had too much Sense to have a serious Passion for him, yet he had been so useful to her in those Pleasures she had stolen without the Consent of Mrs. Cameron,
that

that she could have no Antipathy to his Person, or no Prepossession to his Disadvantage: He judged that when once a Woman of any Condition can humble her Pride so much, as to make a Confidant of a menial Servant, and take Liberties before him unbecoming her Sex, the Remains of Virtue, unsupported by her Pride, can withstand but a feeble Assault; he therefore took a fit Opportunity to declare his Passion, which he found was received better than he expected, and with very little Application gained the last Point.

She was now turned of Sixteen, and abundantly amorous: There was no Want of Opportunity, as no Body suspected any Thing of an Intrigue; the Distance between the Footman and Miss secured them from the least Suspicion, and they went on mutually pleased with each other for near six Months; when Miss found an uncommon Alteration in the State of her Health. She was so ignorant as not to suspect the Cause, and applied to Mrs. *Cameron* for Advice, who, to her Sorrow, knew the Disease but too well; however she had the Prudence and Presence of Mind not to discover her Suspicions to Miss, resolving to watch her in such a Manner, as to find out the Author of her Misfortune: That very Night let her into

the whole Secret, Miss being caught in Bed with *Sawney*.

This new Stroke to Miss's Reputation gave the whole Family the utmost Concern, but afflicted her Father so much, that he took to his Bed, upon the first Notice of the Disaster, and died in about eight Days after; The Footman was sent out of the Way, and some say, violently dispatched; but however that may be, he was heard of no more: Miss went but about three Months longer, and then miscarried, either by Accident, or by some Means used to occasion an Abortion.

But all the Pains that could be taken to conceal it, were in vain; the Scandal spread, with several exaggerating Circumstances, which I do not chuse to repeat, and she could not now pretend to shew her Face in any modest Company: The Fortune which her Father had left her, was not sufficient to maintain her in any tolerable Figure, and her Behaviour had given so much Scandal to her Relations, that none of them, except Mrs. *Cameron*, would look upon her, and she countenanced her rather to hinder her from becoming a more public Disgrace to her Family, than from any Hopes she conceived of her Amendment.

Her

Her Mother, who was once so doatingly fond of her, that she preferred the gratifying her Humour, to the Peace and Quiet of the rest of her more deserving Children, now refused to see her, or so much as to admit any Person to speak in her Behalf. She looked upon her as a Dishonour to her Family, and the unhappy Cause of her Father's Death; but did not all the while reflect, that to her, and her Husband's unreasonable Partiality, the World might ascribe the whole of the Misfortune she so much complained of. Had she taken more Care to cultivate her Judgment, and conquer those Passions, that she might easily discern were too prevalent in her Daughter's Disposition, she might have prevented this Disaster, and a long Train of Misfortunes that has attended her whole Life.

Her Mother, and the rest of her Relations were now only solicitous about finding out a Method to get rid of her, and burying the Scandal, if possible, that she had brought upon them. They had resolved to send her into *France*, and to put her into a Nunnery, where they designed she should take the Veil; but they found it difficult to persuade Miss into this Scheme: She found in herself no such Aversion to the World, as to be willing to leave it; nor, upon consulting her Constitution, could she find any thing

there that favoured the Cloister; on the contrary, she had experienced so much of the World, and the Conversation of Men, that she could not, with any Patience, think of parting with either. She was young, gay, and amorous, and had much rather that her Friends had proposed her making a Campaign in *Flanders*; she would have preferred the Breeches to the most sanctified Habit, and the Company of any Thing of the Male-Kind to all the Cloistered Sister-hood in *France*. But she found there was a Necessity to submit, so seemed to be overcome by the Persuasions of her Relations, and mighty willing to leave the World, but secretly resolved to make her Escape from the Nunnery before the Year of her Novitiate should be out.

While Things were preparing for her Departure, which took up some Months, to all outward Appearance she laid aside her former Gaiety, and put on the Character of the Devotee, which she counterfeited so much to the Life, that her Relations began to flatter themselves, that she would shortly prove a Saint, and that in a few Years, they should find her Name in the Kalendar, as much an Honour to the Family as she had before been a Scandal to it.

When the Time of her Departure came, Miss took Leave of Mrs. *Cameron* with real
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Regret and unfeigned Concern, but she had no Reason to be much afflicted at parting with any of her other Relations; they had shewn so little Compassion to her, that she esteemed it a Happiness to be out of the Reach of those Lectures they used to read her.

When Miss arrived at *Paris*, with the Person who was sent to conduct her thither, she was lodged in the House of a Merchant, whose Wife was some distant Relation of Miss *Jenny's*, and to whose Care she was recommended. This Lady, who was ignorant of her former Transactions, received her with great Civility, and in a short Time contracted a real Friendship and Esteem for her: Miss still personated the Devotee, and, considering her Years, which did not much exceed Seventeen, rather over-acted her Part, by seeming averse to the most innocent Gaieties of Life, and entirely swallowed up in Exercises of Devotion and religious Contemplation.

The Lady, at whose House she was, could not help being surprized to find such a serious and fixed Habit of Devotion in a Creature so young, and attributed, a great Deal of her Reservedness to some secret Grief that had given her Temper a melancholy and enthusiastic Turn: She endeavoured to divert her by all the innocent
Amuse-

Amusements she could think of, and attempted, by making her her own Confidante, to prevail on Miss to discover to her the real Cause of so strange a Resolution in so young a Person, as to go voluntarily into a Cloister; but Miss was too cunning for her: She had no Inclination to exchange Secrets; but judging that Curiosity was the strongest Motive that Lady had to pry into her Concerns, she was resolved to amuse her, and told her, that she had conceived a very high Opinion of the Happiness of a Nun's Life from her very Infancy, and looked upon it as the Sum and utmost Bounds of earthly Felicity, that she had known little or nothing of the World hitherto, and that by the slender Ideas she had of it, thought there was little in it worth coveting.

The Lady, who had but an indifferent Opinion of Nuns in general, and could not see any Religion either in the Devotion, or Celibacy, of the cloistered Sisters, would have endeavoured to dissuade Miss from entering into that Profession; and to that Purpose gave her a full Detail of the public Severities to which the Nuns are subjected, without forgetting the scandalous Practices they are charged with being guilty of in secret; But though this Advice perfectly tallied with Miss's own Inclinations, yet her Arguments

Arguments had a quite contrary Effect to what she intended; Miss had been hitherto (that is by her own Relations) entertained only with the Picture of a religious primitive Nunnery, where Confinement, coarse Cloathing, Watchings, Fastings, and severe Penance made the sole Prospect: This was a Scene that frightened her, and filled her with Horror; but she has now another View of it, she finds the Grates are not so fast locked but they can be made accessible to the Male Kind; that there are Ways and Means within the Walls of a Nunnery to gratify the most wanton Passion, and satiate the grossest Appetite; that their Religion is only Hypocrisy, which she found she had a Talent for practising as well as any; but above all, that there was room for Intrigue, for which she seemed entirely formed. Her Mind was now so taken up with the Pleasure she imagined she should find there, that she impatiently longed to be entered into a Nunnery. The Person who had the Care of her was employed this while in finding out one that would admit her with her small Fortune, which was but two hundred Pounds. At last he found one, of which a *Scotch* Lady, of the House of *Seaforth*, was Abbess, and where there were many of that Nation, both Sisters and Boarders.

Miss

Miss *Jenny* was eager to be admitted, and accordingly entered upon the Year of her Novitiate, about two Months after her coming to *Paris*. The Lady Abbess in a few Days contracted a particular Regard for her; she had the Address to conceal every Thing in her natural Disposition which might give Distaste, and her Wit and Humour was so bewitchingly agreeable, that few People conversed with her that did not conceive a more than ordinary Friendship for her. By the Favour of the Lady Abbess, she had more Liberty than is commonly given to Ladies in her Condition, and she generally improved those Liberties to serve such of the Sisterhood as she had contracted an Intimacy with. Among these was a young Lady who had but just taken the Veil to gratify her Relations, who had thrown her into a Nunnery in order to preserve her Fortune for an elder Brother: This Lady had as little Nun's Flesh about her as Miss *Jenny*, and perhaps knew as much of the World before she entered. She had an Intrigue with a young Marquis, which was carried on by the Assistance of one of the Friars, whose Habit this young Spark assumed as often as he had Occasion, but there had lately been something of the Affair whispered to the Lady Abbess, which obliged

obliged both the real and pretended Frier to abscond the Nunnery for some Time.

During this Interval, the amorous Nun entrusted Miss *Jenny* with the Secret of her Intrigue, and prevailed upon her as she had the Liberty of going Abroad, to carry Letters betwixt her and her Gallant: Miss liked the Employment much, and for the first Time met the young Marquis at the Church of *St. Dennis*; they conversed together for some Time on the Business she came about, and at last upon general Topics, in which Miss *Jenny* displayed all her Talents of Wit and Raillery, and seemingly without Design, gave the Marquis a very strong Prepossession in her Favour. *Jenny* soon discovered she had made some Progress in his Breast, and from that Moment resolved to leave no Stone unturned to supplant the young Nun, who had made her the Confidante of her Amour. She returned to the Monastery, and gave the Sister a favourable Account of her Embassy; the young Nun had no Suspicion of foul Play, and therefore every Day pressed Miss *Jenny* to meet her Gallant, which she did without Reluctance, and in a little Time had such Success, that the Marquis longed for an Opportunity to declare his Passion to her.

He had a very high Opinion of the Virtue and Delicacy of his new Mistress: He suspected

suspected her scarcely susceptible of Love, and knew that he must declare himself under great Disadvantages, as he could no sooner open his Lips on that Subject, than Infidelity and Inconstancy might be objected to him. He remained in Perplexity for several Days, and had almost taken a Resolution to stifle this growing Passion as fruitless, when *Jenny*, who plainly perceived what passed in his Heart, took an Opportunity to disengage him from this Embarrassment: She very naturally, one Evening as they were together, turned the Discourse upon the Fidelity of Lovers, and, in a pleasant Strain of Humour, ridiculed that Constancy the Sexes swear to one another: She alledged that the whole Conversation which passes between Persons labouring under that Malady of Mind called Love, was little better than the Soliloquies of a Mad-House; that their fancied Happiness was as chimerical as the visionary Kingdom of a Lunatic; that their Hopes were without Foundation, and the Promises they make each other utterly impossible to be kept. If the Passion is real, said she, they fall into it without Design, and can no more relinquish it at Pleasure, than they can assume it. This Discourse gave new Life to the Marquis, and afforded him an Opportunity of declaring his Passion.

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The Marquis was young and handsome, had a large Share of good Nature, and a large Estate, but was remarkably weak in his Intellects. Miss could have wished that he had been possessed of more Sense; but as it was, she comforted herself for the Loss, as his Weakness forwarded the Design she had formed upon him; that is, to wheedle him into Marriage, which she hoped she might compass before her Year of Probation was out. She therefore kept him at a great Distance, and gave him no more Encouragement, than was sufficient to keep the Flame alive; and in the mean Time they both agreed to continue the Correspondence with Sister *Anne*, as if the Marquis's Passion for that Lady had still subsisted. Thus they went on for three Months together, but the Marquis never came near the Monastery, tho' the Affair with Sister *Anne* had been quite forgot, and he might, without Hazard or Scandal, have come to the Gate, which that Lady, by Letters sent by Miss *Jenny*, had often solicited him to do; but he always found Evasions, at least Miss *Jenny* found Reasons to dissuade him from coming, for fear the Sight of that Lady, who had a much larger Share of Beauty than she, might re-kindle that Flame which she had been so industrious to smother. The Marquis's Conduct gave the deluded Sister a
great

great Deal of Pain, and she endeavoured to ease herself by Complaints to her false Confidante, who pretended to excuse or condemn the Marquis just as she thought would best deceive the other; but at last the Priest who had carried on the Intrigue at the Beginning, returned to the Monastery, and Sister *Annie* made her Complaint to him: He undertook to set Matters right again; and spoke to the Marquis, who made him the Confidant of the new Passion he entertained for Miss *Jenny*, expecting that Father would have assisted him in this as he had done in the former. The Priest undertook to befriend him, but acted a quite contrary Part; for, desiring to carry on an Intrigue with Sister *Anne* himself, he wanted to make a Merit of the Discovery of her former Gallant, and Confidante's Infidelity. He discovered to her the whole Affair, and they both agreed to be revenged on Miss *Jenny*. Sister *Anne* dissembled her Knowledge of the Matter, and still employed Miss *Jenny* in carrying Letters and Messages as formerly. The Priest acquaints the Lady Abbess, that the Use which Miss *Jenny* made of the Liberty she gave her was to meet a Gallant every Day she went Abroad; and proposed that the first Time she went out, one of the Lay-Sisters should watch her. The Abbess, tho' unwilling to entertain a bad Opinion

Opinion of Miss's Conduct, yet was over-persuaded to take this Step. Next Day Miss went out upon Sister *Anne's* Message as usual, and one of the Lay-Sisters followed. The Marquis met her that Day at the Church of *Notre Dame*; and from thence they went out of the City, into some remote Walks in the Country, where the Sister followed them at a Distance unobserved, and kept so near them, that she could plainly perceive they were not over and above religiously employ'd. She returned to the Monastery and reported what she had seen to the Lady Abbess, with a Number of exaggerating Circumstances.

When poor *Jenny* came back, she found a very odd Reception from the Abbess, who confined her to her Cell, and ordered her very severe Penance for the Folly she had been guilty of. She now found what the Confinement a Nunnery, and the Mortifications which attend the Discovery of an Intrigue within those Walls were. She was so narrowly watched, that she could not give the least Intelligence to the Marquis of her Condition: She revolved in her Mind a thousand Schemes for her Liberty, but in vain, for she found none of the Sisterhood she could trust.

The Priest in the mean Time, to complete her Misfortune, had acquainted the

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Marquis

Marquis that she had been discovered in an Intrigue with one of the Porters belonging to the Monastery ; and gave him so many Circumstances of this pretended Amour, that the Marquis's Credulity was easily imposed upon ; and to mortify her the more, the Priest prevailed upon him to write her a very insulting Letter, which awakened her out of all her golden Dreams of ever marrying the Marquis.

This was a most cruel Disappointment, but the Gaiety of Miss's Temper soon got the better of it, and she flattered herself, that if she could recover the Confidence of the Lady Abbess, some new Opportunity might offer, by which she might get quit of the Nunnery, and obtain a Settlement in the World more agreeable to her Disposition : She submitted to the Penance enjoined her, with a seeming Chaeartfulness ; and as she had confessed hitherto abroad, she chose now a Confessor of one of those who attended the House. The Father she pitched upon was an *Irishman* of the Order of *St. Francis*, a Person much fitter for a Gallant than a Father Confessor. Her Mind was so turned to Intrigue, that she could not be happy without engaging in one of some Sort or other. She now laid a Plot for her Confessor, whom she easily discovered to be no Enemy to the World, nor those Pleasures which give a Relish

Relish to Life: By the Confession which she made him, she designedly gave him to understand, that the Flesh was more predominant than the Spirit; and the holy Father found out a Method to get the better of the Evils she complained of, other than Fasting and austere Penance: A strict Amity commenced betwixt them, which they carried all the Lengths their mutual Desires prompted them to.

This Commerce was not continued for many Weeks before Miss found herself pregnant by the Church: However, her ghostly Father soon eased her of that Burthen by forcing an Abortion, which had like to have cost her her Life: She escaped without Discovery, but not without uneasy Reflections, that this Amour was attended with a great deal of Danger, and in the End could not contribute to her main Design of getting out of the Monastery, and settling in the World.

When Miss was recovered enough to come to the Grate, her Confessor happened one Day to bring along with him an Officer belonging to the *Irish* Brigade, a Gentleman of a good Family in *Ireland*, had a considerable Fortune in that Kingdom, and was lately promoted to the Rank of a Lieutenant-Colonel. This young Gentleman had a genteel Person, an agreeable Address, a good Share of Sense, and wanted nothing of that

Assurance, or indeed any other Qualification necessary to recommend him to the Fair Sex.

This Gentleman came with Father *O Neil*, his Kinsman, to pass away a vacant Hour, at this Monastery, in Conversation with the Nuns at the Grate; and the Father of course introduced him to Miss *Jenny*, with whose Conversation the young Officer was much charmed; and she no less with his: They passed an Hour in abundance of Gallantry, and parted, mutually inclined to be better acquainted with each other. Miss informed herself of his Condition and Circumstances from Father *O Neil*, and from that Minute resolved to aim at the Conquest of his Heart. The young Colonel found the charming Devotee run much in his Head, and he could not rest till he found out the Priest, that he might return to her Company: The second Meeting made still greater Progress in Miss's Scheme; the Officer found himself over Head and Ears in Love, and in a Visit or two more he seized an Opportunity to make her a Declaration: Miss was at a Loss how to behave; she was afraid of yielding too soon, and yet dreaded Delays, which had been the Ruin of her last Intrigue with the Marquis: This last Fear prevailed, and she therefore received the Colonel's Declaration pretty favourably, and cautioned him not
to

to make *O Neil* his Confidant, but to find out a Way to see her without that Father's being in Company; which he did the next Time by coming by himself: Miss was at the Grate, and the Colonel renewed his Addresses. Miss acquainted him, that if she was inclined to be in Love, that there was nothing in his Person or Behaviour to which she had an Aversion; but at present her Circumstances were such, as not to give her any Hopes of ever being happy in that Passion, since her Friends had devoted her to end her Days within those Walls, and she had brought her Mind to comply with the Necessity of her Destiny, resolving to entertain no Thoughts that would disturb that Tranquility of Mind she now began to enjoy: And her Resolution was the stronger, as she had no probable Prospect of any Thing happening to make her Life more agreeable. The Colonel was transported to find that she had no real Aversion to the World, and that her taking the Habit was Constraint: He acquainted her, that as she had not taken the Vows, she might leave the Monastery when she pleased; and that he would find Means to set her at Liberty, and put her out of the Reach of her Relations, if she would think favourably of his Passion. This was the Point she aimed at, and only now made some Scruples of trusting her Honour with a
Man

Man to whom she was so much a Stranger: The Colonel protested his Designs were honourable, and soon persuaded her if what she was previously resolved to have no Scruple about: They parted for some Time, the Officer promising to find out a Way for her Escape without Noise. Money soon effected this Matter; he procured a Pass-Key to one of the Back-Doors of the Garden of the Monastrey, thro' which Miss passed, where she found her Lover impatiently waiting for her with a Servant and Horses; they immediately set out of *Paris*, and arriving before Day-light at a Village within a few Miles of *Versailles*, they put up at a *Cabaret*, and Miss passed for the Colonel's Sister.

In this Place they lay that Night, and tho' Miss had pre-resolved to hold out till she had secured her young Soldier by Marriage, yet he conquered all her Scruples, and, by a vigorous Attack, got Possession of his Wishes that same Night. The next Morning the Colonel returned to *Paris* in order to provide an Apartment for his Mistress in some private Part of the City. In his Absence, she had Time to reflect on her Folly. It is true she had no Concern upon her about leaving the Nunnery; but what vexed her was, that by yielding to the Colonel's Sollicitations, she could not entertain any rational Hopes that he would make her
his

his Wife; and she was not ignorant of the precarious State of a Mistress: She fretted all Day, and cursed her Stars a thousand Times; but when Night approached, and no Appearances of her Colonel, she was ready to lay violent Hands upon herself, Remorse and Despair depriving her almost of the Use of Reason, and made her appear to the People of the House as a Madwoman. However, she concealed the Cause of her Uneasiness, and pretended all her Fears arose from a Supposition that some Accident had befallen her pretended Brother. The Hostess would have amused her Melancholly, but she was past all Consolation; refused all Manner of Sustenance, sat up all Night, sometimes tearing her Hair, and sometimes making bitter Complaints of the Ingratitude and Perfidy of Men, and at other Times condemning her own Weakness, and imagining the Colonel was disgusted, by making a Discovery that she was not that Vestal, he had taken her for, tho' she had used every Art to deceive him as to her having ever been concerned with any Body else.

In this painful Manner she passed all the Night, and part of the next Morning, when the Colonel's Servant returned with a Letter acquainting her, that an Affair of Importance hindered his coming that Night, but that he would be early with her

next

next Day. This Letter pacified her Frenzy; but did not thoroughly satisfy her; she had still some perplexing Doubts upon her all that Day and next Night; but the Morning following was made easy by the Appearance of the Colonel. He had received Orders to go directly for *Flanders*, and had now but two Days to prepare for his Journey. He proposed leaving her behind at the House of a Relation of his, whom he could safely trust with an Affair of that Consequence; but this she would by no Means consent to, and it was inconvenient for the Colonel's Affairs, as they were then circumstanced, to travel with a Lady in Company. To solve this Difficulty Miss recollected her Masquerade Habit, and proposed it to the Colonel, who liked it much; the Servant was immediately ordered to provide a Habit and Equipage for a young Gentleman. She was soon equipped, and in that Dress quite ravished the Colonel, who grew every Day more fond of her. She passed for a *Scotch* Gentleman, by the Name of *Johnson*, who had resolved to make the Campaign in *Flanders*. She returned to *Paris* in this Dress, with the Colonel, went publickly to the Coffee-House, and passed for his Relation. As the Colonel was obliged to wait on the Prime-Minister, Cardinal *Fleury*, before he set out, Mr. *Johnson* must needs attend him,

was

was actually introduced to the Cardinal, who received him courteously, and promised him Preferment.

Miss was now in tip-top Spirits, and the Pleasure she took in this kind of perpetual Masquerade, buried all Thoughts of settling in the World for some Time, and at last put it quite out of her Head. She travelled with the Colonel to the Camp, where she arrived in the Beginning of the Year 1713. Some say, she actually made the Campaign, and carried Arms; but this I will not assert for Truth, tho' it is currently reported in the Country, but with Circumstances that favour too much of the Romance. She continued with the Colonel till the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, where he died and left her an odd kind of Widow: There was no Body privy to her Sex, but the Colonel's Valet-de-Chambre, who on his Master's Death returned to *Paris*. The Colonel left her all the ready Money he had, and an Order for his Arrears; but all amounted to a Trifle, not exceeding two or three hundred Pounds.

This was her All, and she must endeavour to make the most of it. She continued at *Utrecht* when the Congress was held there, and hoped in that Confluence of People of Distinction, she might meet with some Ad-

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R

venture

venture that would answer her Design ; for now a Settlement returned to her Memory. Amongst all her Acquaintance, she had contracted the greatest Intimacy with an *Italian* Count, a Man very rich, and very amorous, but not very wise, tho' prodigiously conceited. Him she pitched upon as one for her Purpose, for she was attached to no Nation or Party ; Interest and Passion was all she had in View ; but the Difficulty lay in the Discovery of her Sex, which she wanted to do in such a Manner as might give the Count a favourable Opinion of her as a Woman, for she was already fully assured of his Affection for her in her Male Capacity.

To carry on this Design, she hired a Lodging in a different Part of the City in a Female Dress, and acquainted the Count that a Sister of her's was lately arrived on her Way to *Paris*, where she was to take the Habit : She gave him a modest but favourable Account of the Person and Beauty of this imaginary Sister, which made the Count impatient to see her ; accordingly he prevailed, without much Difficulty, to get an Appointment made to wait upon her with his Friend and her Brother the next Day : But when the Time came, *Jenny* sent the Count a Letter to excuse her not waiting

waiting upon him, an extraordinary Accident having happened to prevent it, and in that Letter she sent another to her pretended Sister, which she told him, would be as good an Introduction as if she went with him herself. The Count lost no Time, but going to the Place appointed, Miss *Jenny's* new Lodging, was received by her as her Brother's Friend and Intimate, and under that Pretext, treated with as much Familiarity as could be reasonably expected at a first Visit. The Count was charmed with her Conversation, and left her with Reluctance.

Jenny was impatient to meet him again in the Person of Mr. *Johnson*, to find out what Impression she had made upon him as a Woman: They met, and passed the Evening together, and she found herself entertain'd with nothing but Raptures about herself. She knew the Count's Temper so well, that she was satisfied the Bait had taken, and was resolved not to play this Card as she had the last. The Count visited her frequently, and every Day his Passion increased, and he had actually proposed Marriage, when an untimely Discovery spoiled all. The Count was really a Coward, yet often brought himself into Scrapes: He fell into a Quarrel where Mr. *Johnson* was present, and Swords

drawn ; Mr. *Johnson* was as ready with his Rapier as the best of them ; and in Defence of his Friend and Lover, received a Wound under the Left Breast. She had the Courage to conceal the Hurt till the Fray was over, and was about to leave the Count in his own Chambers, whither she had conducted him, when by the great Loss of Blood she fainted away : The Count had not perceived till then, that she had been hurt ; but seeing the Blood, he opened her Breast to search for the Wound, and there discovered, to his great Surprize, that his Friend Mr. *Johnson* was no other than a Woman, and that his Mistress and he were the same identical Persons. Miss recovered a little, but was overwhelmed with Confusion, to find that she was discovered ; her Vexation at the Disappointment was so great, that she could only beg of the Count to keep her Secret, and come to her next Day at her Female Lodgings. A Chair was immediately called, and she went to her last Lodging, where she pretended some Accident, and sent for a Surgeon to dress her Wound.

The Count came next Day, according to Appointment ; and after the first Confusion was over, he acquainted her that he had no less Regard for her than before, since he found in one Person both his Mistress and his

his Friend, but modestly hinted, that as Colonel ——— and she had been so long Bed-fellows, it was not to be supposed that he could enter into a Marriage Settlement with her; but if to the Character of Friend, she would allow him that of her humble Servant, she should find he would be as constant to her in both as if tied up by the Bonds of Wedlock. There was no Alternative, so she closed in with the Count, and lived with him in the same Manner she had done with the Colonel, till the Year 1717, when she went with him to *Paris*, where she proved pregnant.

Miss's masculine Spirit, and some Extravagances in her Expences, had made the *Italian*, by this Time, heartily tired of her, and wish for an Opportunity to get rid of her, which he did in a very barbarous Manner. During her Lying-in, he picked a Quarrel with her, and pretending Jealousy, would needs have it that the Child was none of his, tho' all the Reason he could assign for his Suspicion, was her not proving pregnant before; intimating that she had picked up somebody since she came to *Paris*, on whom she bestowed her Favours; whether this might be true or not, I am not certain, but the Count left her three Days

after her Delivery, and set out for his own Country.

Miss was now absolutely destitute; her Money, Jewels, and all she could get together would not raise a hundred Pounds; she had no Acquaintance, especially of her own Sex, who could assist her, and those amongst the Men knew her only in that Character, which she could not now assume. However, she got her Child sent to the Hospital, recovered her Health in a few Weeks, and was now forming a Scheme for new Adventures; but the Smallness of her Cash, and the Meanness of her Wardrobe, gave her small Hopes of Success: In short, her Circumstances grew daily worse, and she began now to have Thoughts in earnest of going into a Nunnery to keep her from Want.

Her Affairs were in this bad Situation, when she met, by Accident, Sir *Hugh Cameron*, of *Lochiel*, who knew her Misfortunes in *Scotland*, but was ignorant of her Transactions in *France*. He, and some of the rest of those unfortunate Refugees of the Year 1715, took Compassion of her, gave her some Subsistence, and sent her home to her Brother, Mr. *Cameron* of *Glendessery*, who was just come of Age, supposing now that

that the Scandal of her former Steps must be pretty much forgot.

Upon her Arrival, her Brother received her with abundance of Tenderness, and without Reproaches for her past Conduct, for which she herself expressed great Concern. She now managed the Affairs of her Brother's House, and behaved with great Prudence and Decency, insomuch that she had in a little Time gained the Esteem of all the Gentry in that Neighbourhood: She had naturally a solid Judgment, a flowing Wit, without any Mixture of Malice, or that satirical Turn which Wits generally have; all this improved by the Experience she had learned abroad, by keeping Company with Men more than Women, rendered her Company agreeable and facetious to People of the best Sense in the Country.

In a Year or two after her coming home, her Brother married, and his Lady and Miss lived very well together for some Time, till one of the Maids, more quick-sighted than the rest, raised in her Mind a Suspicion of a criminal Commerce between the Brother and Sister. Mrs. *Cameron* shuddered at so unnatural a Thought, and could not bear to harbour a Suspicion so prejudicial to her Husband and her Sister; but the Maid insisted upon it that she would make

the Discovery. Things remained in doubt for near a Year, the Lady still preserving a just Decorum with her Sister. But at last an Accident happened, which unravelled the whole Scene: The eldest Son, a Boy of two Years old, was taken ill of the Small-Pox, and Mrs. *Cameron* one Night happened to sit up with him. About Midnight there was something wanted for the Child, which must be had out of Miss *Jenny's* Room; Mrs. *Cameron* taking a Light, went herself for it; and finding the Door unlocked, how was she surprized, when upon entering she saw the Brother and Sister fast asleep, locked in one another's Arms? The Surprize and Horror of the Scene made her shriek out, and she immediately fell down in a Swoon: The Noise awakened the guilty Couple; the Husband started up, and ran to his own Chamber, before the Servants could come in, who were alarmed by the Shriek. When Mrs. *Cameron* recovered from the Swoon, she found herself in Miss *Jenny's* Arms, who was very officious about her, asking what was the Matter with her? The Matter with me, replied the injured Wife; can you ask me the Question after what I have seen? Seen! returned the other very calmly, pray now, have you seen a Ghost, that it frightened you so? Dear
 Madam

Madam, be composed. Was not my Husband here just now? replied the Lady: Your Husband! Sure your Brain is turned! No, your Husband was not here: You fancied you saw his Spirit: Lord preserve my Brother: I wish no Accident may happen to him. Mrs. *Cameron* amazed at the Impudence of the Woman, and unwilling to expose so horrid a Scene before the Servants, acquiesced that she might have seen a Spirit; and so returned to the Nursery with what she came for, oppressed with the utmost Confusion.

Mrs. *Cameron*, from this Time forward never was happy; inward Jealousy and public Jars with the Brother and Sister, made her miserable, and, it is believed, shortened her Days; for she lived but a few Years, and those buried in the deepest Melancholy. After her Death, Miss *Jenny* continued to manage her Brother's House; and the Country are strongly prepossessed, that she had several Children, the Fruits of this incestuous Commerce.

Her Brother died some Years ago, leaving his eldest Son a Minor, and little better than an Ideot. He left Miss *Jenny* his Executrix, and when he arrived at the Age of Fourteen, the Boy himself chose her Curatrix, that is, Guardian to his Estate, which

which she has managed ever since: For tho' her Nephew is of Age, yet his Incapacity is such, that he cannot transact any Business, but leaves it entirely to his Aunt.

When the Chevalier *Charles*, Deputy-Pretender, came to *Lochiel's* House, *Lochiel* sent an Order to Mr. *Cameron* of *Glendessery*, to raise his Men and join the Family Standard. Mr. *Cameron* incapable of obeying such a Summons, his Place was supplied by his Aunt, Miss *Jenny*, who soon got together two hundred and fifty Men, and marched at the Head of them to the Pretender's Camp. She was dressed in a Sea-Green Riding Habit, with a Scarlet Lapel trimmed with Gold; her Hair tied behind in loose Buckles, with a Velvet Cap, and Scarlet Feather: She rode a Bay Gelding with Green Furniture, richly trimmed and fringed with Gold; instead of a Whip, she carried a naked Sword in her Hand: and in this Equipage arrived at the Camp. A Female Officer was an extraordinary Sight, and the Novelty being reported to the young Chevalier, he went out of the Lines to meet this Supply. Miss *Jenny*, who indeed had seen more terrible Fellows abroad, rode up to him without the least Fear or Bashfulness, and giving him a Salute in a
Soldier-

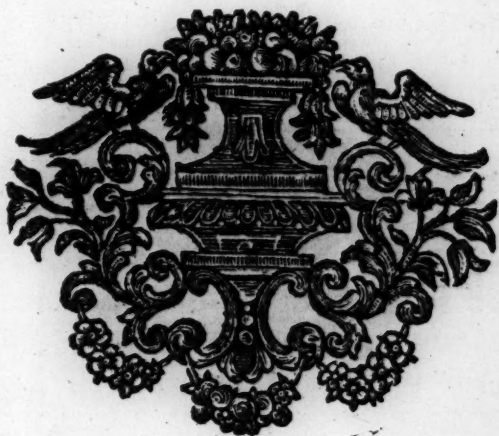
Soldier-like Manner, acquainted him, " That
 " as her Nephew was not able to attend
 " the R—— Standard, she had raised his
 " Men, and brought them to his H——s;
 " she believed them ready, she said, to ha-
 " zard their Lives in his Cause, and tho'
 " at present they were commanded by a
 " Woman, yet she hoped they had no-
 " thing Womanish about them; for she
 " found that so glorious a Cause had raised
 " in her Breast every Manly Thought, and
 " quite extinguished the Woman: What an
 " Effect then, added she, must it have upon
 " those who have no feminine Fears to
 " combat, and are free from the Incum-
 " brance of Female Drefs? These Men,
 " Sir, are your's; they have devoted them-
 " selves to your Service; they bring you
 " Hearts as well as Hands; I can follow
 " them no farther, but I shall pray for
 " your Success." This Speech ended, she
 ordered her Men to pass in Review before
 the Chevalier, who expressed himself well
 pleased with their Appearance, but much
 more with the Gallantry of their Female
 Leader: He conducted her himself into his
 Tent, and treated her with as much Distinc-
 tion as if she had ben a Duchess; her
 Humour was extremely free, and as full of
 Gaiety as if she had been but Fifteen.
 The

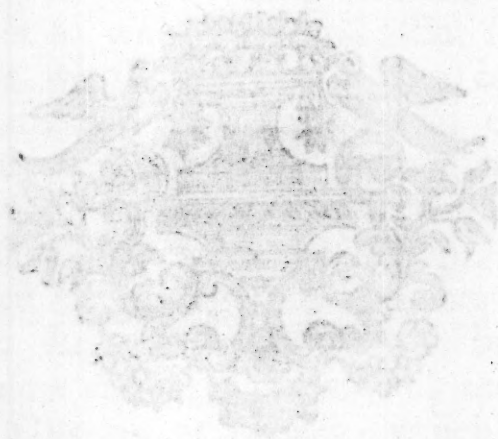
The young Pretender was delighted with her Conversation, and while she stayed in the Camp, passed several Hours with her, but always in Company. He used to call her Colonel *Cameron*, and she has been ever since more distinguished by that Name than that of Miss *Jenny*.

The Succours she now brought him, the early Assistance her Family had furnished him, were sufficient Grounds to caress her more than ordinary, for political Reasons; but the Manner of her Appearance, and her own singular Humour, must certainly recommend her to a young Gentleman, who is said not to want Politeness: But her Age, which is within a Year or two of Fifty, must secure her from the Scandal of being his Mistress; this Story having no other Foundation, than that of a Woman of some Distinction being in the Camp. People concluded her young, and therefore of Consequence she must be a Mistress, but those who know either of them will acquit her of that Disgrace at present; which, had it been thirty Years ago, she would have accounted her Glory.

She continued with the Army till they marched into *England*, and joined them again upon their Return at *Falkirk*, and since the glorious Battle of *Culloden*, it is reported,

reported, that, with two other Ladies of great Distinction, she is brought Prisoner to *London*, where, if there is any room for Compassion, she is in the Hands of a merciful Prince, who, by the late rash Attempt of his Enemies, sees how much he reigns in the Hearts of his Subjects, at least of all such, whose Affection is valuable.





THE
L I F E
O F
SIMON Lord *LOVAT*.



L O N D O N:

Printed for C. WHITEFIELD, in *White-Fryers*,
Fleet-Street. MDCC XLVI.



Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat.



THE
LIFE
OF
SIMON Lord LOVAT.



SIMON FRASER was the second Son of *Thomas Fraser of Beaufort*, by a Daughter of the Laird of *M'Leod*, and consequently is descended both by Father and Mother from as ancient and as honourable Families as any in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. He was born at *Beaufort* aforesaid, near *Inverness* in the Highlands, in the Year 1668, so that his Lordship is now in the 79th Year of his Age. His Father and his elder Brother both dying while he was very

very young, the Laird of *M'Leod* took upon him the Care of his Education, and after some Time spent at the Grammar School, sent him to King's College in the University of *Aberdeen*. He was very far from distinguishing himself by a very strict Application to his Studies; on the contrary, in his junior Years, he neglected Books much more than he has done since, and was only careful to gain such a Tincture of Letters, as might preserve him from Reproach amongst People of the same Rank with himself, who in that Country are seldom found to be deeply learned, and much seldomer absolutely ignorant: But if he was no close Student, he applied himself diligently to his Exercises, and was in those Days thought to have the Address and Manners of a Gentleman on Horseback and on Foot.

About the Year 1692, by the Interest of the Family of *Atbol*, he procured a Company in the Lord *Tullibardine's* Regiment, and he might possibly have risen to considerable Commands in the Army, if his Family Concerns had not put it out of his Power to continue in a Military Course of Life. The Decease of *Hugh Lord Lovat*, without Heirs Male, who was his Father's elder Brother, gave him, as he thought, a legal Claim to the Title, but most unquestionably it did a Right to be Chief of the *Frasers*, which, as
it

it was impossible a Woman could execute, so by the Law of Reason, as well as the Custom of the Clans, she ought not to inherit: But *Hugh* Lord *Lovat* above-mentioned, who had married a Daughter of the Marquess of *Atbol*, made a Settlement to limit the Honours and Estate of *Lovat* to his eldest Daughter, and the Heirs of her Body.

The Misunderstanding arising between him and the Marquess on this Occasion, was the Reason of Captain *Frazer's* throwing up his Commission. The Marquess, in order to secure the Possession of the Honours and Estate to his Grandchild, had proposed to him, that he should convey and make over his Right to the same to her, and in Consideration thereof, the Marquess engaged to promote him in the Army; but the Captain, with a noble Indignation, rejected the Proposal, and utterly refused to make such a Renunciation, protesting that no Consideration whatever should ever make him sell his Birth-right, by which he was entitled to the Estate of *Lovat*, and to be *Chief of the Frasers*.

It is known to be the Custom of *Scotland*, and more especially in the Highlands, for the next Heir Male to marry the Heiress; and this cannot appear strange to those who read the *Old Testament*, since the like Custom

was established among the *Jews*, whose political Constitution was pretty much the same with that which antiently and hitherto has prevailed among the Clans. There was nothing extravagant, or very extraordinary in Captain *Simon Fraser's* pretending to the Heiress of the deceased Lord *Lovat*, and by marrying her to unite both their Interests and Claims.

To accomplish this, in the Year 1694, he applied himself secretly to gain the young Lady's Favour, who was then about fifteen Years of Age, and lived with her Mother, the Lady Dowager *Lovat*, at *Castledowny*, near *Inverness*. He made his Sentiments known to the Heiress, by the Means of one *Fraser of Tenecheil*, and gained so much upon her Affection, that she consented to marry him privately without the Consent of her Friends. In order to this, she left her Mother's House one Morning, with great Secresy, attended only by *Tenecheil*, her and the Captain's Confident in the Intrigue. But before they had gone far, *Tenecheil* repenting of what he had undertaken, and perhaps dreading the Resentment of the young Lady's powerful Relations, or thinking to make a Merit of so important a Discovery, carried her back again to her Mother, and disclosed the whole Affair. The Disappointment of the Lovers, and the
Sorrow

Sorrow and Despair of Captain *Frazer* is more easily to be imagined than described.

This Attempt upon the Heiress of *Lovat*, alarming the Family of *Athol*, they thought it not safe for her to remain any longer in that Part of the Country, and therefore ordered her to be sent under a proper Escorte to *Dunkeld*, the Marquess's Seat, which was accordingly done; and the Marquess from that Time began to think of marrying her into some great Family, and thereby blast the Hopes of the Captain, and prevent the Honours and Estate ever coming to his Possession; for this Purpose a Match was proposed between her and the Master of *Salton*, eldest Son of Lord *Salton*, which is a distinct Family of the *Frasers*. Lord *Salton* embraced this Proposal very chearfully, thinking such an Alliance very advantageous and honourable to his Family.

The original Design of the present Lord, by whom this Affair was contrived and conducted, was to have had the Marriage celebrated at the Family Seat of the *Frasers*, *Castledowny*, where the Lady Dowager *Lovat* resided, and thither Lord *Salton*, his Son the intended Bridegroom, accompanied by Lord *Mungo Murray*, a younger Son of the Marquess of *Athol*, were going, when Captain *Simon Frazer* stopped them in their Journey, and brought them Prisoners to
that

that very Place, into which they were to have entered in Triumph: When he had them there, he expostulated the Matter with Lord *Salton*, and shewed him so plainly the Nature of his own Title to be Chief of the *Lovat* Tribe of *Frasers*, that he readily relinquished the Match. If the young Lady had been there, this Stroke would have been decisive; but as she was not, and the Lady Dowager *Lovat* was a very agreeable Woman, and exceedingly beloved by the Clan, Captain *Frazer* made his Addresses to her in which he prevailed, and though the Guard he had about the House, and some other Circumstances, gave this Marriage an Air of Force; yet such was the Affection of that Lady to him, that when by the Power of her Family he was driven out of the *Frasers* Country, and forced to fly for his Life, she was not only the Companion of his Dangers and Misfortunes, but in the Midst of those Difficulties, insisted upon a second Solemnization of the Marriage, which at her Desire was complied with: But the Kindness of the Lady was not greater than the Hatred of her Family. They pursued Captain *Frazer* with implacable Steadiness, exerted against him the Weight of their Power, which drove him to Rocks and Caves for Shelter, and employed at the same Time the Weight of their Influence by

by which they procured a Sentence of the Court of Justiciary against him for a Rape, they pursued him likewise, as guilty of High Treason in levying War; and to support these dreadful Sentences in both Cases they procured an Order for a Party of Dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant *Robert Campbell*, to put the Law in Execution, with Respect to his House and Estate at *Beaufort*, which that Gentleman with great Reluctancy did.

Thus Captain *Frazer* became an Enemy to the Government in Construction of Law, which drove him from his Country, Friends and Wife, but on a Representation to King *William* of glorious Memory, a Remission was granted to him as to the Treason; but the Judgment as to the Rape remained in full Force; so that he had a Pardon for the greater Crime, with *non obstante* to be hanged for the less Offence, which he avoided by keeping out of the Reach of his Enemies, as well as he could, and when it was found impracticable for him to remain either in *Scotland* or *England*, he was compelled to fly to the only Place where he was sure of Protection, and this carried him to the Court of *St. Germain's*; so that by the *Jacobite* Interest in *Scotland*, he was driven to act the Part of a *Jacobite* himself; and this, we are told by his Friends, was the true and plain State of his first Application

cation to the exiled Family, by whom he was immediately received in the Character and Quality of Lord *Lovat*, and Chief of the *Frasers*.

It was a little before the Death of the late King *James*, that he came thither, and as there were two Factions in his Court, he knew it was impossible to be well with both; and therefore chose to address himself to the Chancellor of *Scotland*, the late Duke of *Perth*, by whom he was very well received, and consulted as to the State of Affairs in the Highlands, and the Disposition of the Chiefs of the Clans. Of this, as he was very able, he gave a clear and full Account; but at the same Time desired, that if any Use was to be made of his Information, it might be communicated only to the *French* Ministry, and not to the Council of King *James*. The Reason of this was plainly because Captain *Frazer* knew that nothing could be communicated to them, which would not be immediately known in *England*, from the Connection there was between some of the *St. Germain's* Ministry and those about Queen *Anne*, so that in taking this Precaution the Captain did no more than a prudent Man in his Circumstances, and who saw himself embarked in a dangerous Design for Bread would have done. This Proposition was relished, and the

the Marquis *de Torcy*, a very great and able Minister, lately dead, took Captain *Frazer* into his Confidence, consulted him frequently, and relied chiefly upon the Accounts he gave him. His applying to the *French* Ministers answered his Ends very effectually; but as his Correspondence with them could not be long concealed from the Earl of *Middleton*, who was at the Head of the opposite Faction, he did not fail to do all in his Power to ruin the Captain's Credit; to expose him as a Man guilty of the greatest Crimes, as one who had injured a potent Family in *Scotland*, beyond Reparation or Pardon, whom therefore it would be dangerous to trust, and very imprudent so much as to countenance, so that now he was in as much Danger in *France*, as he could have been in *Scotland*; and those who are acquainted with human Nature, cannot blame him for the Steps he took for his own Preservation.

The first Thing he did, was to open the Eyes of the *French* Ministers with respect to the Posture of Affairs in *Scotland*, which was a very difficult Thing to do, since they were at that Time so perplexed that neither the *English* or the *French* Court knew what to make of them. He shewed them clearly, that with regard to the Family at *St. Germain's*, the Clans only were to be depended

upon, for that the other Parties in *Scotland* fought merely their own Interest, and were for any Court in which they could be uppermost. There is no Body at this Time of Day, that will dispute his having represented this Matter fairly, who considers that this Transaction happened in the Beginning of Queen *Anne's* Reign, when the Management of Affairs in *Scotland* was such a Mystery that the wisest and most penetrating of the *English* Ministers could never understand, but were forced to follow their *Scotch* Guides, who led them very often into such Wilderesses, that they were forced to stop short, and sometimes change Hands.

It was in Consequence of the Lights he gave them, that the *French* Ministers came to change their Notions with respect to Persons and Things; and whatever Sentiments they might entertain of the Sincerity of his Attachment to the Family in *France*, they were convinced that he did not deceive them in the Accounts he gave, and therefore, notwithstanding all that was said by the Earl of *Middleton* and his Creatures, they continued to employ him; and he had likewise a Share in the Favour of Queen *Mary*, who having been herself in *Scotland*, when Duchess of *York*, had truer Notions of Things than some of her *Scotch* Ministers could have wished she had, because it led to disapprove
several

several of those Schemes in which they were most sanguine.

This Story has been always represented to the Public in a very false Light ; for whereas it has been asserted, that Capt. *Frazer* represented to the *French* Court, that he had Credentials from the Clans, that they were able and willing to raise 10,000 Men, and to venture an Insurrection, if they were assisted with 5000 regular Troops, and other necessary Supplies from thence, the Fact was indeed quite otherwise ; and if he had made any such Proposals he must have appeared, and would have been treated in the Character his Enemies represented him, as a Cheat and Impostor ; since it is on all Hands agreed, that he had no such Credentials, was not employed by the Clans, and could not therefore possibly engage for them ; but he knew their Principles and their Strength, he was well acquainted with their Inclinations, with their Persons and Characters, and could, in that respect give the *French* Ministers both better and clearer Informations than either they had or could receive from any other Quarter, and as this was all he could do, so it was all he pretended to do ; and if he acquired Credit and Confidence at the Court of *France*, it was by striking out a new Path, by dealing fairly with them, and not attempting to deceive them. And there-

therefore he was pitched upon as a proper Person to pave the Way, and prepare Matters for the Execution of a Design they now had to invade *Scotland* and restore the Pretender.

He was honoured with a Commission, some say that of a Colonel of Foot, others a Major-General's, and furnished with Powers and Credentials to treat with the Noblemen and Gentlemen in *Scotland*, who were attached to that Interest, and particularly the Chiefs of the Clans. He was likewise provided with some Arms and Ammunition, and with a Sum of Money from the Court of *France*.

Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwarth*, in his Memoirs, who treats this Matter as a sham Plot, trumped up by the Duke of *Queenf-bury* and his Party, and charged upon the Marquess of *Athol* and the *Tory* Party, in order to furnish a Pretence to ruin and oppress them, gives the following Account of that Matter :

“ The Court Party pitched upon *Simon*
 “ *Frazer* of *Beaufort* as the Tool to carry
 “ on this wicked Design, and be an Evidence
 “ to charge such Persons as they directed.
 “ This Gentleman, some three or four
 “ Years before, had been guilty of a most
 “ scandalous Rape upon the Person of the
 “ Lady

“ Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, Sister to the
 “ Duke of *Athol*; for which Crime the
 “ Lords of Justiciary condemned him to
 “ die, and Letters of Fire and Sword were
 “ raised, and a Detachment of King *Wil-*
 “ *liam's* Troops sent against him and his
 “ Adherents, who were pretty numerous;
 “ Betwixt them several Skirmishes hap-
 “ pened; but finding the Duke of *Argyll*,
 “ who was his great Patron, (for no Reason
 “ that I know of, but because he had been
 “ guilty of a vile, lewd, and detestable
 “ Crime, and likewise upon the Person of
 “ one of the Family of *Athol*, which two
 “ Houses bore each other a constant Grudge:)
 “ I say, *Frazer* finding *Argyll* was no longer
 “ able to protect him against the Force of
 “ Law and Justice, quitted the Kingdom,
 “ and retired to *France*: But King *James*
 “ having got an Account of the Crimes he
 “ was found guilty of, for which he had
 “ left his native Country, would not, during
 “ his Life, allow him to come to the Court
 “ of *St. Germain's*. This Person being made
 “ choice of, as well qualified for such a De-
 “ sign, was sent for from *France* to *England*,
 “ and afterwards brought from thence to
 “ *Scotland*: But before he left *France*, by
 “ the Advice of his Friends at home, he
 “ turned Papist; and finding a Way to be
 “ introduced to the *French* King by the
 “ Pope's

“ *Pope’s* Nuncio, he represented himself as
 “ a Person of great Interest in *Scotland*,
 “ and oppressed for his Zeal to the Royal
 “ Family; and that with Encouragement,
 “ and a small Assistance, he could contribute
 “ to make a great Diversion to the *English*
 “ Arms, and much promote the Royal In-
 “ terest; and for that End proposed that his
 “ Most Christian Majesty would furnish
 “ him with two or three hundred Men,
 “ and a good Sum of Money, to take along
 “ with him to *Scotland*, where he would
 “ perform Wonders. But the *French* King,
 “ unwilling to hazard his Men and Money,
 “ without a farther Security, and more Pro-
 “ bability than his Assertion, gave him a
 “ fair Answer, desiring him to go first to
 “ *Scotland*, and bring him some Credentials
 “ from those Persons over whom he pre-
 “ tended so much Power; which he agreed
 “ to, and got for that Purpose a little Mo-
 “ ney, and, by the *French* Interest, such
 “ Credit at *St. Germain’s*, as to obtain a
 “ Commission from King *James* (meaning
 “ the Pretender) to be a Major-General,
 “ with a Power to raise and command Forces
 “ in his Behalf, which was the main Thing
 “ he aimed at: But at the same Time Capt,
 “ *John Murray*, Brother to Mr. *Murray* of
 “ *Abercarnie*, and Captain *Murray*, Brother
 “ to Sir *David Murray* of *Stenbope*, were
 “ likewise,

" likewise, under the Protection of Queen
 " Anne's Indempity, sent over to Scotland
 " to be a Check upon him, and bring In-
 " telligence how they found the Tempers
 " of the People and their Inclination to-
 " wards King James. Thus provided, Fra-
 " ser arrived in England, and on the Bor-
 " ders of Scotland was met by the Duke
 " of Argyll, and by him conducted to
 " Edinburgh, where he was kept private;
 " and being fully instructed what he was
 " to do, the Duke of Queensbury gave him
 " a Pass, to secure him from being appre-
 " hended, in Obedience to the Letters of
 " Fire and Sword emitted against him.
 " And now he goes to the Highlands, in-
 " troduces himself to the Company of all
 " that he knew well affected to King James
 " and his Interest there, produces his Ma-
 " jor-General's Commission, as a Testificate
 " of the Trust reposed in him, and pro-
 " posing their rising in Arms, and signi-
 " fying the same under their Hands, that
 " the King might know assuredly, who they
 " were, and what Numbers he had to trust
 " to, and regulate his Affairs accordingly.
 " Some were so far seduced, as to assure
 " him they were ready to serve the King,
 " though I believe there was none did it
 " in the Terms he proposed; but generally,
 " there were few that did not regret the

“ King’s reposing any Trust in a Person
 “ of so bad a Character; and fearing he
 “ would betray them, refused to treat or
 “ come to Particulars with him. After he
 “ had trafficked here and there through
 “ the Highlands with small Success, when
 “ the Parliament was adjourned he went
 “ to *London*, to consider of what farther
 “ use he might be to his Constituents, re-
 “ solving (tho’ his *primum Mobile* and his
 “ Patron the Duke of *Argyll* was now
 “ dead) to continue in their Service; and
 “ they, finding that he had made but a
 “ small Progress, and could not as yet fix
 “ any thing at the Doors of those Per-
 “ sons against whom they levelled, resolved
 “ to send him again to *France*, to de-
 “ mand Letters and farther Encourage-
 “ ment to the Dukes of *Hamilton* and
 “ *Atbol*, the Earls of *Seafeld* and *Cromer-*
 “ *tie*, and the Cavaliers; and for that End
 “ the Duke of *Queensbury* procured him,
 “ and two others with him, a Pass from
 “ the Earl of *Nottingham*, Secretary of
 “ *England*, under borrowed Names. If he
 “ went upon a good Design, as the Duke
 “ of *Queensbury* afterwards alledged, why
 “ needed he have made their Persons and
 “ Business such a Secret to the Queen’s
 “ Secretary, as he must know neither? But
 “ before *Frazer* reached *Paris*, and had
 “ executed

“ executed his black Design, it came to
 “ light in great Measure; for the famous
 “ Mr. *Ferguson* soon discovered, and con-
 “ sequently defeated the Project, when it
 “ was yet but in Embrio: For *Frazer*,
 “ whilst he was in *London*, having ad-
 “ dressed himself to him and one Mr. *Wil-*
 “ *liam Keith* (a great Dependur upon the
 “ Duke of *Atbol*) he acquainted him with
 “ the pretended Design and Project for
 “ King *James*, and mightily pressed *Keith*,
 “ that he would use his Endeavours to per-
 “ suade the Duke of *Atbol*, to forgive him,
 “ and allow him Access to his Grace, since
 “ he was heartily sorry for the Crime he
 “ had committed, and was promoting so
 “ good a Design: But *Keith* (though he
 “ played the Fool, and dipped deep enough
 “ with him in all other Points) told him,
 “ that was what he could not presume to
 “ propose, and what he knew the Duke
 “ of *Atbol* would never grant. But *Per-*
 “ *guson*, an old experienced Plotter, under-
 “ standing his Character, suspected his In-
 “ tegrity; and it coming to his Know-
 “ ledge, that he was privately and often
 “ with the *Scotch* Courtiers, was by them
 “ supported, and had obtained a Pass, as
 “ above related, soon concluded that there
 “ was some bad Design in hand, and there-
 “ upon gave the Duke of *Argyll* Notice
 “ of

“ of it: And he again having enquired at
 “ the Earl of *Nottingham's*, and finding
 “ *Ferguson's* Informations to be good, and
 “ his Suspicions to be well grounded, ac-
 “ quaints *Queen Anne* of the whole Pro-
 “ cedure, accusing the Duke of *Queensbury*
 “ in particular, and his other Friends and
 “ Partizans, of corresponding with and
 “ protecting a Person out-lawed in the
 “ Kingdom of *Scotland*, and guilty of the
 “ most horrid Crimes, and a Traffick with
 “ *France*. Thereupon the Duke of *Queens-*
 “ *bury*, to vindicate himself, declared, that
 “ *Frazer*, when he came to *Scotland*, wrote
 “ to him, that he could make great Dis-
 “ coveries for the *Queen's* Service, that
 “ upon that Account he had sent for him,
 “ given him a Protection in *Scotland*, and
 “ again procured him a Pass in *England*,
 “ with a Design he should go to *France*
 “ and make a clearer Discovery; which he
 “ did not doubt he would have performed,
 “ had not the Matter came too soon to
 “ light: And, as a convincing Proof there-
 “ of, he produces a Letter from the *Queen*
 “ Mother, directed to *L. M.* which he
 “ interpreted Lord *Murray* (formerly the
 “ Title of the Duke of *Athol* before his
 “ Father died.) But his Grace made use of
 “ such solid Arguments and convincing
 “ Proofs to shew the Fallacy of that Letter,
 “ that

" that Queen *Anne* herself could not deny,
 " ny, but that she thought it not genuine.
 " Now let an impartial Judge consider,
 " if it is probable that *Frazer*, with whom
 " no honest Man in *Scotland* would converse,
 " who was under Sentence of Death,
 " and not such a Fool as to imagine, that
 " he had Interest to do any thing of Moment
 " for King *James's* Service, could
 " have had the Impudence to address the
 " *French* King in such Terms as he did,
 " and come over to *Scotland*, unless he
 " had been put upon it and protected by
 " such as could support him at home. If
 " he proposed to cheat the *French* King of
 " a little Money, why came he to *Scotland*
 " with it, since he knew he could not fail
 " in Time to be discovered, and then could
 " neither hope to be protected there or to
 " return to *France*? These, I say, and many
 " other shrewd Presumptions, make it
 " clear what was the Design of this pretended
 " Plot, and if successful, how dismal the
 " Consequences of it must have proved,
 " viz. the Destruction of those who opposed
 " the Designs of the *Scotch* Courtiers and
 " *English* Ministry against *Scotland*;
 " how happy it is in being rendered abortive,
 " before the designed Conception had come to
 " full Maturity; and how odious the Thought
 " of such a hellish

“ hellish Conspiracy, and Abettors thereof,
 “ ought to be in the Eyes of all good
 “ Men.”

The same Author gives an Account that one *David Bailey* accused the Duke of *Queensbury* of endeavouring to subborn him in that Matter, to prove such Things as he should object against the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Atbol*, and others. This Accusation was laid before the *Scotch* Privy Council, but not being supported by any Proof, *Bailey* was pillory'd and sentenced to be banished. Upon this Point Mr. *Lockhart* thinks that it was a Lye and a Counterplot, framed by *Bailey* of *Jerviswood* against the Duke of *Queensbury*; though he declares that his Grace was really concerned in the Plot with Captain *Frazer*. Mr. *Lockhart* says farther, that the House of Lords of *England* took his Grace under their Protection; and that a Committee of seven Lords proceeded to take the Plot under Consideration, and reported what they pleased, though never so gross and absurd.

Another *Scotch* Author of the same Party gives a different Turn to the Affair: He represents the Duke of *Atbol* and those in the Opposition as true Patriots, who ought to be distinguished from *Jacobites*. He says, that he is firmly persuaded that a
 dangerous

dangerous Conspiracy had been and was then carrying on for subverting the Government; but that he can never believe there is any Truth in the Plot as charged, in gross, by Captain *Frazer*, and others, upon the Country Party. See how this Affair is represented in another Piece very lately published.

Simon Frazer knew exactly the Situation of Things and the Characters and Measures of all the great Men in both Kingdoms, and this enabled him to play them one against another, and to serve himself of them all. He had proposed to the Court of *France* depending upon the Highlanders, and upon the Highlanders only; he knew very well the Confidence the Court of *St. Germain's* had in the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol*, and other great Men in *Scotland*, and knew that some of the Queen's Ministers corresponded with the Court of *St. Germain's*, and made both *Perth* and *Middleton* believe, that they would prepare every Thing, in Case of the Queen's Death, for a Change to their Liking, and he also knew that they intended no such Thing, but practised this Artifice with a View to prevent their contriving Plots and Conspiracies during the War. Upon his coming down to *Scotland*, he offered the Earl of *Leven*, and the Duke of *Argyll*, to do
Service

Service to the Government, and by this Means he procured Admittance to, and a Pass from the Duke of *Queensbury*, But before he did this, he had tried, by the Interposition of the *Murrays*, to reconcile himself to the *Atbol* Family, but found it impossible, and that they were bent to destroy him if they could. He therefore thought himself at full Liberty to talk of their Intrigues and Correspondences to the Duke of *Queensbury*, but this could not be called betraying them, because they never trusted him; they acted upon a different Plan, and whether they really intended to serve either one Court or the other was a Secret then, and will so remain to the End of Time. But it was no Secret to him, that they hated the Duke of *Queensbury*, and the Duke of *Queensbury* them, and therefore he knew, that offering to find out their Correspondences, would recommend him to his Grace. But he never communicated to the Duke one Word of his secret Commission, or of his Message to the Clans, so that he did not betray those that trusted him, nor the Scheme with which he was trusted.

When he went into the *Highlands*, he saw and conferred with several of the Chiefs, but upon his Return to *Edinburgh*, and conferring

ferring with some of his Friends there, he told them the Substance of what he had done, but mentioned Names of the Chiefs he had not seen, foreseeing that if any Discovery was made, they would be able to prove the Falshood of what was pretended, and consequently would come to no Harm. He likewise told the Duke of *Queensbury*, at his Return, that he could procure him no authentic Proofs of the Conspiracy, but that he would return to *France*, and endeavour to make himself Master of some original Papers there, by which he obtained a Recommendation to the Earl of *Nottingham* for a Pass in another Name, in order to continue his Journey to *France*, and, at the same Time, accepted of a Couple of hundred Guineas from the Duke of *Queensbury* towards his Expences. Upon his Return to *London*, he had an Interview with the famous Mr. *Robert Ferguson*, who had been a Plotter for near Fifty Years, had been concerned in the *Rye-House* Scheme for killing King *Charles*, was in *Monmouth's* Rebellion, came over with the Prince of *Orange* at the Revolution, was in every Plot against him notwithstanding during his Reign, and was wont to boast that he would never be out of a Plot as long as he lived; the only Thing in which it is believed he kept his Word.

This

This Man undertook to sift Captain *Frazer*, and he appeared very open to him, so that the old Politician fancied he had penetrated his Secret, and as soon as his Back was turned, he went to work upon one Evening's Conversation, and spun out the fine Plot before-mentioned, which took up the Attention of the House of Lords for a whole Sessions, and amused *England* and *Scotland*, for more than a Year.

The Method he took was this, he sent a Letter to the Duke of *Atbol*, in which he informed him, that there was a very black Design set on foot against his Life and many others, and that one Captain *Frazer* had been sent for over from *France* by the Duke of *Queensbury*, in order to fix a treasonable Correspondence upon them. This exasperated those Noblemen to the highest Degree, who believed every Word of it, and to be even with the Duke of *Queensbury*, and pay him, as they thought in his own Coin, they got one *Bailey* to write a Letter to *Atbol*, in which he affirmed, that the Duke of *Queensbury* had endeavoured to suborn him to depose the several Facts, which they were informed his Grace had really heard from or dictated to *Frazer*; but *Bailey* being apprehended for writing this Letter, and tried for it, it appeared to be a Forgery, and he was set in the Pillory.

Some

Some Years after the poor Man grew distracted, murdered his own Brother and was hanged for it. Thus, in a very narrow Compass, is seen every Circumstance of this strange Affair, and how, after Captain *Frazer* had slipped thro' their Fingers, the great Men in *Scotland* endeavoured to fix Plots upon each other; the Duke of *Queensbury* firmly believed that *Hamilton*, *Athol*, and other Noblemen were engaged in a Design to raise a Rebellion, though he could not prove it; and on the other hand, *Athol* and his Friends charged the Duke of *Queensbury* with contriving, in Conjunction with *Frazer*, to ruin some of the Queen's best Subjects, as they called themselves, and thereby gain to himself and his Party the sole Management of Affairs in *Scotland*: Of all this, indeed, *Frazer* might be said in some Measure to be the Occasion; but it is very plain he neither made a Plot, discovered a Plot, or left any Evidence of a Plot behind him.

Upon the Return of Captain *Frazer* to *France* and the Court of *St. Germain's* where, by the Way, he was always called and considered as Lord *Lovat*, (which shews that his Claim to that Dignity was in the Opinion of *Perth*, who had been Chancellor of *Scotland*, and *Middleton*, who was Secretary, a legal Claim) he found his Interest much sunk; the Clamour from England and

Scotland had got over thither before him, and notwithstanding all he could say, and all that he had done, there was no making People there believe, that he had not betrayed the Royalists, as they called them in *Scotland*: But this would not have given him much Pain, if the *French* Ministers had not conceived amiss of him; but they finding that the very Paper he had given them, concerning the Strength of the Clans, with the Remarks of the Earl of *Cromertie* upon it, had been produced to the *English* Parliament, concluded that he must have betrayed them, though the Fact really was, that he gave this Paper originally to Sir *John M'Lean*, in order to engage him to introduce him to *Queen Mary*, and Sir *John* being very unluckily taken into Custody, upon his going over to take the Benefit of the Indemnity, and being examined as to his Knowledge of Captain *Frazer* owned every Thing, and delivered up this Paper. There were besides two other unlucky Accidents, Captain *Bouchier*, who had been Aid de Camp, and *David Lindsay*, who was Secretary to the Earl of *Middleton*, going to *England* upon the same Errand with Sir *John M'Lean*, were not only seized and imprisoned, but tried and convicted of High-Treason, notwithstanding the Act of Indemnity; for it was held for Law, that tho'

tho' they might have had the Benefit of this Act in *Scotland*, yet it could be of no Advantage to them in *England*, so that they were a kind of Transitory Traytors, that might be legally hanged here, though they would have been safe there; but though this was pushed to the utmost, in order to try what what could be drawn from them, yet they were not executed; but after lying some Time under Sentence of Death, received the Queen's Mercy. These Circumstances taken all together, caused such Suspicions of Captain *Frazer's* Integrity, as he was not able to wipe off; and so, after all his Hazards, he found himself shipwrecked in Port, with no other Comfort, than that he had not deserved it.

It is very requisite to observe here, for the Information of an *English* Reader, that while it was High-Treason in this Kingdom to have any Intercourse with the Person stiled Prince of *Wales*, during the Lifetime of the late King *James*, and afterwards stiling himself *James VIII.* and *III.* there were nothing of the same Penalties in Force in *Scotland*. It was at that Time an independent Kingdom, governed by its own Laws, enacted by a *Scots* Parliament; the Succession to the Crown was open there, though settled here on the House of *Hanover*; and those who were in the Interest of

the Chevalier made no Scruple of owning it, as they ran no Hazard by it. They had their public Meetings for promoting his Interest during every Session of Parliament, and the Name they were distinguished by, at this Juncture, in that Country, was CAVALLIERS. Their Strength was so great, their Chiefs Men of such Consequence, and held so closely together, that the Queen's Ministers were generally forced to keep some Terms with them, in order to carry such Points in Parliament as were absolutely necessary for the Preservation of the Government. By this Means there was frequently a Compromise, the Cavaliers agreed to go with the Court in such and such Points, and in Return, the Ministry undertook not to oppose such or such Patriot Bills as these People, in Conjunction with another Party that steadily opposed the Court, thought fit to bring in for the Benefit of the Nation. These Methods, by Degrees, brought the *English* Ministers, who came into any Thing that Person desired who had the Management of *Scotland* for the Time being, into very perplexed Circumstances, insomuch that the Lord High Treasurer *Godolphin* found himself at last so driven, as to be under a Necessity of purchasing the Union, that is, the *Scotch* Nation, on any Terms it could be had, and they were high enough, though
if

if those who had the making the Bargain, had known what they were doing, they might have made those Terms still better than they were.

There is no Doubt but this Story will appear very strange to such as live at this Distance of Time, and who see *Scotland* in so low a Condition, and so little considered as it is; but it was otherwise then, for the Reasons I have given, and amongst other Acts that were extorted from the *English* Ministers; there were two of very great Consequence, the first was a Law entituled, *An Act anent Peace and War*, this was, in short, a Law to limit the Queen's Successor in *Scotland*, from making either Peace or War, without the Consent of Parliament; the second was usually stiled, *The Act of Security*, and by this the *Scotch* Parliament had a Power of raising an Army; and as the Succession was unsettled, and some Disputes had broke out between the two Nations, which by the Warmth of violent Tempers, and the Arts of designing Men, had been blown to great Heights, so that now, either a War, or an Union, must follow. The Parties in *Scotland* were so strangely divided, and had so many different Views, that it is extremely difficult to represent them in a narrow Compass. In case the Queen had died at this Juncture, and before

fore the Succession had been settled, a Regency, consisting of the great Officers of State, was settled by Act of Parliament, so that the great Men having both the Revenue and the Army in their Power, might have either administered the Government in the Way of a Commonwealth, or have made the best Bargain they could for the Surrender of their Power, to what King they pleased. This made a great Party for keeping Things as they were, in hopes of having this Chance. The Cavaliers, from their political Principles, were absolutely and directly against the Union, and so were the Patriots; there was a flying Squadron that was sometimes for one Thing, sometimes for another, but generally speaking, for making the best Terms they could, but the Address of the Duke of *Queensbury*, supported by a Million of prevailing Arguments from *England*, bore down all Opposition, and brought the Thing to bear in the Year 1707, to the Astonishment of the whole World, and most of those who understood the Matter best.

One Point of Address in the High Commissioner who managed this arduous Affair, was his shewing it to every Party in that Light which made it appear to their particular Advantage. As for Instance, he observed to the Whigs, that the Settlement of
Church

Church and State, the Freedom of their Country, and the Protestant Succession, depended upon the Union. He represented to the Patriots, that as they were inferior in Strength, a War would certainly end in bringing them under the Power of *England* by Conquest, whereas by this Method they had an Opportunity of uniting upon equal, and even upon advantageous Terms. But however to both these Parties, the great Reason of all was the Equivalent. But to the Cavaliers, none of these Arguments could be urged, and therefore to them it was insinuated, that if they were mistaken in their Notions, as to the Tempers of the People, they must admit it to be a good Bargain for the Nation; and, on the other hand, if they were right in their Notions, and if the People in general were against the Union, it would give them a fairer Opportunity, than they had ever yet had, of bringing back their Master. The Consequence of this was, that during the whole Negociation of the Union, the Cavaliers were contriving to bring about an Insurrection; and to that Purpose their Emissaries at the Court of *France* solicited a powerful Assistance from thence, which produced the famous *Dunkirk* Expedition in the succeeding Year, which was in part disappointed by the Vigilance of Sir *George Byng*,
but

but chiefly by the Conduct of the great Men in *Scotland*, who had set themselves at the Head of the Cavaliers. They had possessed themselves entirely of the Court of *St. Germain's*, and through their incessant Applications, of the Court of *Verfailles*; they had promised to secure *Edinburgh*, which it is thought they might have done, and to be ready with a considerable Force to meet the Chevalier at *Leith*, but they deceive'd him and the *French* by doing nothing, which not only blasted that Expedition, but gave the *French* an ill Opinion of all Things of that Nature, and made them resolve never to undertake another Expedition in Form, to which they have ever since steadily adhered.

The whole Design of *Lockhart* of *Carnwarth's* Book is to vindicate his Idol the Duke of *Hamilton* from the Imputations that his treacherous Conduct in this Affair brought upon him, but like all other Pieces of that kind, it has pleased many, displeased more, and convinced none. The Author certainly knew a great deal, and for the most part, spoke what he knew; but he was so infatuated by the *Hamiltons*, that all he says has a Tendency to whitewash their Conduct; and hence it was that Captain *Frazer* stood obliged to him for the delicate Character he has given him in his Book,
merely

merely upon the Score of his standing upon bad Terms with his great Men. It is an old Saying, That it is an ill Wind blows nobody Good; the Disappointment of the Design upon *Scotland* delivered Lord *Lovat* from the Persecution he had been under from the Time of his Return into *France*. The Ministry of *Versailles* were convinced, they had injured him, and that they never had received any just or certain Accounts of that Country, but from him; and therefore though they might be civil to some of the *Scotch* Correspondents of the Court of *St. Germain's* afterwards, yet they never depended upon them, and the Duke of *Berwick* plainly declared, that there was no relying upon, or trusting to the Professions of those great Men who were Lord *Lovat's* capital Enemies; so that his Credit rose in Proportion as theirs declined; but, except being freed from the unjust Suspicions of the *French* Court, Lord *Lovat* reaped little Benefit from this Change, for the Ministry having now no farther Views upon *Scotland*, took very little Care of any of that Nation, so that he was driven to very hard Shifts for a Subsistence, notwithstanding he had Access to the greatest Men in that Kingdom, and was, to outward Appearance, very well received by them; and of this he had Sense enough to make a right

Use, without flattering himself with imaginary Hopes, or entertaining false Expectations, as was the Case with the rest of his Countrymen, who still pleased themselves with Notions, that the *Grand Monarque* would never desert them, whereas he and his Ministers looked upon the Desertion to lie on their Side, and had entered into a new System with Respect to the Intrest of the exiled Family, which, though it wore a fairer Appearance, proved as delusive as the former, and ended at last in establishing an Opinion in the *French* Court, that all Projects in Favour of that Family were idle and chimerical, farther than as they served to amuse the Ministry in *England*, and to keep alive the Factions, and Parties in *Great-Britain*, in maintaining of which the *French* still hoped to find their Account.

We shall now look into what passed in *Scotlaud* with respect to the Affairs of the House of *Lovat*, when the Enemies of our *Simon Fraser* of *Beaufort* thought they had effectually done his Business, and put it out of his Power ever to disturb them more; and here by the Way it is necessary to remark, that as they had driven him out of *Scotland* by Letters of Fire and Sword, about a Family Quarrel, in which, unquestionably Right was on his Side, so with the same implacable Spirit they had pursued him
into

into *England*, and while they had any Interest there, took Care to persuade all the World that *Frazer* was the greatest Villain in it; the same Notions likewise they had propagated in *France*, and drawn upon him such a heavy Persecution as any other Man must have sunk under; and indeed so far were they right, that nothing but sinking him could secure them; for neither fair Means nor foul could divert or affright him from the single Point he pursued of being acknowledged for Lord *Lovat*, and Chief of the *Frasers*. Yet to put this out of his Power they went as far as ever they could, for besides voiding his Marriage with the Lady Dowager, Sister to *Athol*; they married the young Heiress to Mr. *Alexander M'Kenzie*, Son to the Lord *Prestonball*, who upon this changed his Name to *Frazer*, and was to take the Title of *Frazerdale*, and in Right of his Wife, was to enjoy for his Lifetime the Family Estate of *Lovat*. This was their Scheme, and this very Scheme, say my Lord's Friends, plainly demonstrates the Justice of *Simon Frazer's* Pretensions; for if it was requisite that Mr. *M'Kenzie* should change his Name to *Frazer*, why should it not be more fit for *Simon Frazer* to have married that Lady, who was indisputably the next Heir Male of the Family, whose Grandfather *Hugh Frazer* was Lord

Lovat, and whose Father, *Thomas*, had laid Claim to that Honour upon the Decease of his Nephew *Hugh*, Father to this Heir-ess, since by this Marriage all Claims would have been united, and the Force of the Clan preserved entire.

In the Year 1714, there was a Prospect of raising new Stirs in Reference to the Old Cause in *Scotland*, and in Consequence of this Disputes, Divisions and Factions as usual. The Friends of the Exiled Family knew the Consequence of the *Frasers* in case of any Rising, and therefore endeavoured to be secure of them; but Lord *Lovat*, in *September* 1715, came to *London*, and went to some of his particular Friends, and consulted with them how he should avail himself of the Troubles that were then beginning. As they had Reason to believe he might be instrumental in quelling the Rebellion, by the Favour of the late Duke of *Argyll*, and Mr. *Forbes* of *Culloden*, he procured a Pass to go into *Scotland*, under the borrowed Name of Captain *Brown*, with which he set out for *Edinburgh*, and there lay concealed for some Time, waiting till a Ship could be got to carry him to the North of *Scotland*, for the Country was then all up in Arms, and no Possibility of travelling by Land. In the mean time his Enemies had Intelligence of his being in *Edinburgh*, and upon an Information thereof to
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the Lord Justice Clerk, his Lordship granted a Warrant to apprehend him as a Person condemned by Law and intercommuned, or outlawed. A Party of the Town-Guard were ordered to assist in the Execution of the Warrant, and, agreeable to the Information, they went to a House in the *Grass-Market*, where the Captain lodged, and made him their Prisoner. Had it not been for a happy Accident in his Favour, his Adventures must all have ended here: The Officer who commanded the Party happened to be an old Acquaintance, and expressed much Concern for him, promising to serve him if possible. My Lord told his Friend, the Officer, his Intention of going into the North on the Service of his Majesty King *George*; that he went by the Name of *Brown*, and had a Passport from the Secretary of State: The Provost of *Edinburgh* was his good Friend, to whom the Officer went as his Colonel, and acquainted him of the Affair. The Provost thereupon directed him to discharge the Warrant, and set the Captain at Liberty, as it appeared that the Warrant was executed by Mistake upon Captain *Brown* instead of Captain *Frazer*, who was the Person specified. Upon this his Lordship was happily set at Liberty, and escaped, for this Time the threatened Danger.

He changed his Lodgings immediately, and, a few Days after, a Vessel having been provided, sailed for *Inverness*; but by contrary Winds the Ship was forced to put into *Frazerburgh*, within a few Miles of his old Friend Lord *Salton's* House.

My Lord and Mr. *Forbes* of *Cullo-den*, who attended him to the North to assist his Majesty's Service, must have been exposed to great Difficulties and Dangers, if it had not been for the friendly Care of one Mr. *Baillie*, Town-Clerk of *Frazerburgh*, to whom they made themselves known. He found Means to provide them with Horses, to carry them to *Culloden House*, the Seat of the Lord President of *Scotland*, (now became famous for the late glorious Victory, obtained there by his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*) where they safely arrived in *November 1715*, after a hazardous and fatiguing Journey.

He was very sensible that the Rebels had a great Strength in that Country, if they had known how to manage it, or draw it together; but being perfectly well acquainted with the Dispositions of those, who put themselves at the Head of this Rebellion, he was satisfied they could do no great Matters, as being for the most part Men who had served all Governments and Administrations since the Revolution; and by
appearing

appearing as their Interest directed, of all Parties, had in Reality no great Credit with any. There were however several Gentlemen of moderate Fortunes and Chiefs of Clans that raised their Men for the Pretender; and in the North of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Seaforth*, who had the Title of his Lieutenant General, drew together 4000 Men, of whom there were about 500 *Frasers*, under the Command of *Alexander M'Kenzie* of *Frasersdale*, but at least half that Clan refused to rise, declared their true Chief was in *England*, and they would wait for his coming; which was treated with great Ridicule and Contempt by *Seaforth* and *Frasersdale*, and the latter marched with a Detachment of 700 Men to force them into the Service; but it had a contrary Effect; for tho' they did not rise under the Lairds of *Struy* and *Foyer*, yet they shewed such a Resolution to defend themselves, that *Frasersdale* and his People did not think fit to attack them. In the mean Time the Earl of *Sutherland* seeing the Rebels so strong, and in Possession of *Inverness*, raised 2000 of his own Men for the Service of the Government, that in case they marched Southwards he might secure the Country they left behind them, and give an Opportunity to all, who were well affected to King *George*, to join him, which at that

critical Juncture was of very great Service, though his Lordship had not immediately all the Success that he expected.

Lord *Lovat*, wrote from *Culloden-House* to the Gentlemen of his Name, who were well affected to the Government, to come and receive him as their Chief: Mr. *Ross* of *Kelravock*, and Mr. *Forbes* of *Culloden*, to prevent his falling into the Hands of the Rebels, conducted him by *Inverness* to the Frontiers of his own Country. His Lordship soon got his Clan together, and hearing that a Body of the *M'Intoshes* were going to reinforce Sir *John M'Kenzie*, who commanded the Garrison at *Inverness*, he marched with some others of the well affected Gentlemen into that Country, in order to intercept them, and prevent their joining the Rebel Garrison. The *M'Intoshes* hearing of this, sent their principal Gentlemen to treat with his Lordship: They agreed to disperse and deliver up their Arms, and the Gentlemen became bound for the Peace in their Country. In the mean time his Lordship having Intelligence that *Keppoch* with a considerable Body of Men were in full March to *Inverness*, he posted himself between *Keppoch's* Men and the Garrison. Sir *John* and *Keppoch* resolved to put his Lordship between two Fires, and attack him on each Side; but *Keppoch* intimidated at his Lordship's

ship's Firmness and Resolution, thought proper to retreat through the Country of the *Grants* of *Urquhart*, where, after committing great Outrages, he and his Men dispersed and returned home. His Lordship thereupon marched strait to *Inverness*, and placed himself on the West Side of the Town, after having sent a Party to guard that Side of the *Firth*, in order to prevent any Supply of Provisions or Warlike Stores from coming to the Garrison: *Forbes* of *Culloden* with his Men lay at the East, and the *Grants*, being 800, to the South Side of the Town: Sir *John* finding himself thus surrounded, and in Danger of being starved or taken, and understanding that the *well-affected Clans* were ready to invest the Place, took the Advantage of a Spring Tide that came up to the Town, and made the River Navigable, quitted the Town and Castle, and retired in Boats on the 10th of *November* to the *Ross* Side; Lord *Lovat* took immediate Possession thereof, and acquainted the Earl of *Sutherland*, who was then in *Sutherland*, of their Success. The Earl wrote his Lordship a very obliging Letter thereupon, expressing his Satisfaction that his Lordship had, by his Loyalty and Zeal, in Defence of the Government, entitled himself to his Majesty's Favour; and assuring his Lordship that he would truly represent his Services upon that Occasion.

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The Earl of *Sutherland* came to *Inverness* on the 13th of *November*, when he received the joyful News of the Defeat of the Rebels at *Dumblain*, and leaving a sufficient Garrison at *Inverness*, marched with Lord *Lovat* to *Seaforth's* Country, where they obliged the Gentlemen, then at home, to give Security for the peaceable Behaviour of their People, and to return the Arms, that had been taken from the *Monroes*; they left a Number of their Men in the Castle of *Brahan*, and marched to *Murray* and *Strathspey*, where they subjected the Country to the King's Obedience. The Earl of *Seaforth* in the mean time gathered together the scattered Remains of his Men, after the Battle of *Dumblain*, and lay with them near *Brahan*; the Earl of *Sutherland*, with Lord *Lovat* and others, marched against him, resolving to give him Battle; but the Earl of *Seaforth*, upon their Approach, proposed Terms of Accommodation: Upon a Promise of Pardon, he agreed to disperse his Men, own the King's Authority, and deliver up his Arms, and thereupon Hostilities ceased: His Majesty thereupon gave the Earl of *Seaforth* to understand, that upon his performing his Agreement, and behaving peaceably for the future, he might expect his Royal Clemency. But upon the Arrival of the Pretender in *Scotland*, the Earl flattering himself that
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their Affairs might take a favourable Turn, delayed to perform the Conditions he had submitted to, and therefore forfeited any Title to his Majesty's Pardon. Soon after these Transactions the Rebellion was totally extinguished by the Retreat and Dispersion of the Rebel Army.

Lord *Lovat's* Loyalty and mighty Services, after the Suppression of the Rebellion, were greatly magnified by his Friends at Court: And in Consideration thereof they recommended him to the King's Favour for a Pardon for all his former Crimes and Offences, which his Majesty was graciously pleased to grant. *Frazerdale* was attainted, and thereby forfeited his Interest and Estate for Life in the Lands and Barony of *Lovat*, which became escheated to the Crown: An Application was thereupon made to the late King in Behalf of his Lordship, setting forth his Right and Pretensions to the Honours and Estate of *Lovat*, in Consequence of which his Majesty, as a farther Mark of his Favour and Reward for his Services, was graciously pleased to make him a Gift of *Frazerdale's Life-rent Escheat*, in Virtue of which his Lordship entered into immediate Possession of the Estate, and renewed his Claim to the Honours and Dignity.

Lord *Lovat* being thus restored to Favour and pardoned, made his first publick Appearance

pearance in *Edinburgh* in the Year 1717. Lord *Mungo Murray*, whom we have before mentioned, had solemnly vowed, that whenever he should meet with Lord *Lovat*, he would revenge the Indignity that had been given to his Family, and the Affront that had been put upon himself personally in the North by that Lord; about this Time the two noble Lords happened to meet in the High Street. Lord *Mungo* drew his Sword, and made up to *Lovat*, who being very near-sighted did not at first perceive his Enemy; but a Gentleman by apprising him of his Danger, his Lordship immediately drew in his own Defence, and put himself in a Posture to receive his Adversary. Lord *Mungo* observing this, thought proper to wheel about and retreat; but a Crowd of People, alarmed at this hostile Appearance, stood in his Way and retarded his Flight; whereupon Lord *Lovat* called aloud to the People, *Pray, Gentlemen, make way for Lord Mungo Murray*. Lord *Mungo* escaped into an Ale-House, or Wine Cellar, near, and the Affair ended without any bloody Consequence.

About the same Year 1717, his Lordship intermarried with a Daughter of the Laird of *Grant*, Sister to the present Sir *James Grant*, Bart. intending to add to his Power and Interest by an Alliance with
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so potent and numerous a Clan. Of this Marriage are Issue, now living, two Sons and two Daughters. Upon the Decease of this Lady, his Lordship married a young Lady nearly related to the Noble Family of *Argyll*, by whom he had a Son named *Archibald*; but his cruel and unworthy Usage of that Lady, which has occasioned a Separation between them, instead of uniting himself more firmly to that great Family, as he intended, has justly drawn upon him their Resentment and Contempt.

Simon, commonly called the Master of *Lovat*, his Lordship's eldest Son, in the 20th Year of his Age, is a Youth of good natural Parts, particularly remarkable for an honest and sincere Mind, and a mild and benevolent Disposition; good Qualities which have by no Means recommended him to the Esteem of his Father, who from his Infancy has trained him up in a most slavish Subjection and Dependence upon him, and treated him with a most unbefitting Severity. The Friends of the Family had great Expectations of this promising and virtuous young Man; but we find him engaged very early in the late Rebellion, being seduced from that Duty and Allegiance which he owes to his King and Country, by the wicked Counsels of a Parent, enforced by his absolute Authority and pernicious Example. It has proved very unhappy

happy for this Youth and his Brother; that they received the greatest Part of their Education under such a Father, by which destructive and abominable Principles, of which the Conduct of the Master of *Lovat*, at this Juncture, is a melancholy Effect. About the Year 1737, Lord *Lovat* became greatly suspected of some treasonable Designs, and an Information was given to one of the Secretaries of State, that his Lordship, under Pretence of providing Arms for his independent Company, had bought up a considerable Number of Fire Arms, broad Swords and Targets. This was represented to a certain great Man at Court, who thereupon wrote to Lord *Lovat* upon that Head, desiring from him an Account of the Truth of these Matters, and that he would satisfy the Government with respect to the Charge. And the more effectually to quiet the Apprehension that some People had entertained of his Conduct, and as it was generally reported that his Lordship proposed to send his Sons to *France* for their Education, he advised his Lordship to send them up to *London*; and to encourage him thereto, this great Man offered to have a particular Regard in their Education, and undertook to be at the Expence thereof out of his own Pocket; such was this Nobleman's generous Care and Concern to preserve this Family from Destruction;

tion ; but our Lord was deaf to his Counsels and friendly Admonition, and contented himself with sending him long Letters in his own Vindication, stuffed with shuffling Evasions and flattering Speeches, and boasting of the great Services he had done in the Year 1715, which he pretended ought to free him from any Imputation of Disloyalty.

My Lord endeavoured to enforce, upon all Occasions, this Maxim, That the *Chief* was always to be esteemed by the *Clan* as their immediate Lord and Governor, to whom they owe an absolute Subjection and Obedience, from which nothing can absolve them ; that they ought to be ready upon all Occasions to assist him *in Support of his Interest and Concerns, and to redress Wrongs and resent Injuries done to his Person and Family.* His darling Passion of Clanship, and Lust of Superiority, led him therefore to discourage Trade, Industry, and Improvements of all Sorts, and instead thereof to recommend to their Imitation the Manner of Life of their Ancestors, who by a generous Contempt of servile Labour and mechanical Employments, which, according to him, tended greatly to enervate the Body and debase the Mind, kept up, and cherished that Prowess and Martial Spirit, for which
they

they had in former Ages rendered themselves famous.

When my Lord had fully established his Right to the Honours and Estate of *Lovat*, and put an End to the Pretensions of his Adversaries, he began to use compulsive Methods to maintain his Superiority, and that was by distressing and impoverishing such of his Clan as were his Vassals, Tenants, or Servants, or had any Business or Concern with him: Then it was that his Lordship thought of putting in Practice the Maxims of Government that he had learnt and adopted from *France* and *Rome*: The Farmers and Tenants he reduced to a low and wretched State, by increasing and rack-ing their Rents, and by new and evere Ex-actions: But with respect to the Gentlemen who by Tenure were his Vassals, he followed another Course, and that was to harass and oppress them by Law-Suits: For this End many frivolous and vexatious Actions were brought by his Lordship as Lord, or Superior, compelling them to make out their Titles to their Estates, in which, if, for want of sufficient Proof, they happened to fail, he would insist upon Forfeitures and Escheats. And if a Man was not well enough mony'd to stand a long and litigious Suit at Law, he stood a Chance of losing his Estate.

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This arbitrary and oppressive Procedure of his Lordship, justly alarmed the Gentlemen who held under him. Therefore, to prevent their utter Ruin (for they expected no less if he was suffered to go on unopposed in his litigious and oppressive Schemes) after having maturely deliberated what was best to be done, at a Meeting held in the Year 1738, they came unanimously to a Resolution to join their Interests, and make the Defence of each of them the common Cause; and that in case his Lordship should prove too hard for their whole Body, and force them to spend all their Money, and deprive them of all other Means of defending themselves against his Tyranny and Oppressions, they would unite their Arms, and relieve themselves by their Swords. His Lordship being informed of this Confederacy against him, soon perceived that he must alter his Measures, or he should soon lose the Dependency of all his Vassals, which he had been at so much Pains to cultivate and acquire. And having moreover, it is probable, some other Schemes upon the Anvil, in the Execution of which he should have Occasion for the Assistance of those Gentlemen, he ordered his Lawyers to put a Stop to the Actions he had commenced against them; treated them civilly, and excused in the best Manner he could, the Severities which he had used to

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any of them. By these gentle Methods he brought them over again to his Interest, and was assured of their Service whenever he stood in Need of it.

His Lordship's Usage of his Servants was still more extraordinary. His Stewards, Receivers, and Agents, could never prevail on him to settle their Accounts; which, one would think, was a little odd; but he had his Views in it: Thus when he wanted to pick a Quarrel with any of them (which he was sure to do, if they were so imprudent as to ask for their Wages) he charged them with Frauds and Deficiencies in their Payments and Disbursements, and unless they would submit to his Terms, threatened them with Actions at Law, and he was too powerful for such as they to engage with in a Suit of Law.

His inferior Servants and Domesticks were used much worse, if possible; for if he had a Mind to turn any of them away, or if they wanted to quit his Service, and asked for their Wages, his Way was, to charge them with Theft, or the like, and send them to the *Pit of Beaully*, about a Mille off, a dismal Dungeon without Light or Air; and when the Prisoners had made a proper Acknowledgement of their pretended Crimes, and comply'd with the Terms proposed by his Lordship, he gave Orders to set them
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at Liberty. His Female Servants fared no better, if they refused to submit to his lustful Desires. This, no Doubt, will appear to the Reader so incredible, that in a Land of Liberty, where the Laws have their due Execution, such Enormities should be committed, that he will rather think it a Fiction of the Author to blacken the Character of this Nobleman, than a Relation of Matters of Fact: But whoever is acquainted with the Poverty and abject Slavery of the People, and knows the absolute Sovereignty of their Chiefs over them, will not think it strange; nor do there want living Witnesses, who have woefully experienced their Barbarities.

About three or four Years after his Lordship, by the Favour of the Crown, came into the Possession of the Honours and Estate of *Lovat*, he happened to have some Misunderstanding with one Mr. *Robertson*, whom the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, before-mentioned, had appointed the Receiver of her Rents. In the Year 1719, this Gentleman's Barns, Out-Houses, and Stacks of Corn and Hay, were, in the Dead of the Night, set on Fire, and entirely consumed. It is very easy to judge that this was no accidental Fire, because that very Night, a Number of Persons armed and disguised, were seen very busy about the Place where the Fire was.

His Lordship was suspected of being the Contriver of this tragical Scene, and that his Agents, or Servants, had been the Actors in it. Mr. *Robertson* was advised to prosecute the Villains, but, perhaps, for want of sufficient Proof, or considering that his Adversary was too powerful for him, he rather chose quietly to submit to his Loss.

In the next Place we shall give a Specimen of his Lordship's Gratitude, which he is as famous for as any other Virtue. Mr. *Frazer* of *Phopachy*, a Man of Learning and good Sense, a fast Friend to his Lordship in all his Misfortunes, and who in the Year 1715, was very instrumental in keeping the Clan stedfast in his Interests, notwithstanding the Persuasions of *Frazer'sdale* to join with him in the Rebellion.

This Gentleman had the principal Direction of his Lordship's Domestic Affairs, during the Contests at Law between him and his Adversaries, both at *Edinburgh* and *London*. When his Lordship returned home, Mr. *Frazer* was willing to settle and adjust Accounts with him, and on the Balance, a considerable Sum appeared to be due to the latter. Upon which my Lord found a Pretext to quarrel with him, and threatened him with a Suit of Law. *Frazer* chose rather to submit all Matters in Difference to the Arbitration of any two indifferent Gentlemen

Gentlemen in the Country ; which his Lordship agreed to : Mr. *Cuthbert* of *Castlebill* was chosen on the Part of Lord *Lovat*, and Mr. *Chevis* of *Muirton* on the Part of Mr. *Frazer* : The Arbitrators, after several Meetings, and a long Examination, made their Award, or Decree, by which Lord *Lovat* was found indebted to Mr. *Frazer* in a considerable Sum of Money. His Lordship exclaimed against the Award as partial and unjust, and said that *Castlebill* had betray'd his Trust. The Consequence of which was, that not many Days after the Award was made and published, *Castlebill's* Inclosures, Fences, and Parks, lying about two Miles from *Inverness*, were, in the Middle of the Night, broke down by a Party of Highlanders armed and disguised, who killed, ham-string'd, and destroy'd above a hundred of his Milch-Cows and other Cattle, being his whole Stock, which he reckoned as a greater Loss, as the Cows were a Breed of a better Kind than common in that Part of the Country. This base Design was so well contrived, and so cautiously executed, that for some Time it was not certainly known who were the Authors of it ; but an Opinion generally prevailed that Lord *Lovat* was at the Bottom of it. But all this was not enough to satisfy his Lordship's Revenge ; the Arbitration did not please him, and he

resolved, if possible, to set it aside. To this End he brought it into the Court of Session, where the Matter was litigated for a long While; nor was it ended before Mr. *Frazer's* Death, but was at last determined in Favour of his Son, the present Representative of that Family.

An Affair of a very extraordinary Nature happened soon after this. Mr. *Frazer's* House at *Phopachy*, about three or four Miles from my Lord's Seat at *Castledowny*, was one Night beset with Highlanders armed and disguised, who burst open the Gates, Doors, and Locks, and three of them entering the House, searched every Room for Mr. *Frazer*, who, fortunately for him, happened not to be at home that Night. Being thus disappointed, they used his Daughters very cruelly, binding them to the Bed-Posts, and gagging them, to prevent their alarming the Servants in the Out-Houses. However, a Servant-Maid, a strong resolute Wench, made a stout Resistance, for which one of them stabbed her with a Dirk in the Thigh; but she got the Weapon out of the Fellow's Hand, and defended herself manfully, roaring and bawling all the While till she had roused the Servants, who getting together some Neighbours, attacked the Villains that surrounded the House, who made off, but left two of their Accomplices in the

the House, who, after a desperate Resistance, were taken Prisoners and carried to Jail, and were afterwards tried at the Circuit at *Inverness*, and capitally convicted of House-breaking, or *Hamesuken*, as it is called in *Scotland*. But no Arguments could persuade either of them to make the least Discovery who were their Accomplices, or who employed them in so detestable an Action; so strongly attached were these Wretches to their Chief. Fame, however, was malicious enough to report, that Lord *Lovat's* Agents encouraged them in their Obstinacy, by buoying them up with Hopes of a Pardon; and they were actually reprieved for Six Weeks, and afterwards had Assurances of it renewed to the very Day of Execution, when they received the just Reward of their Crimes.

The next Proof of his Lordship's Gratitude, we shall mention, was shewn to Mr. *Forbes* of *Culloden*, and his Brother the Lord President of the Court of Session, now the worthy Representative of that honourable and loyal Family, from whom he had received great Favours. Mr. *Forbes*, in the Year 1715, by his great Interest at Court, procured him a Pass to go to *Scotland*, and afterwards, by the Assistance of his Brother, greatly contributed to his being restored to the Favour of the Government. Mr. *Forbes*,

at the Hazard of his Life, conducted his Lordship thro' *Inverness*, when that Town was in the Hands of the Rebels; by which Means he joined his Clan, and performed those Services which laid the Foundation of his future good Fortune. The Lord President was, for many Years, his standing Counsel, or Advocate, in all his Causes, which Offices he generously executed without Fee or Reward. Mr. *Forbes* was, for many Years, chosen Representative in Parliament for the Shire of *Inverness*, chiefly by the Interest of Lord *Lovat*. But when his Lordship was pretty well settled in his Honours and Estate, and the Friendship of the *Forbes's* was no longer necessary to him, he changed Hands, and at the next Election, gave his Interest to Sir *James Grant*, in Opposition to Mr. *Forbes*, and the former was chosen; which made such a deep Impression on Mr. *Forbes*, that he did not long survive it; his Lordship's Excuse was, that Sir *James* was nearly allied to him, and therefore, he could not refuse him his Interest. But it was evident, in many Instances, that Lord *Lovat* was never constant to any Cause or Party any longer than it served his Interest and private Views; for, at the very next General Election, he opposed Sir *James Grant*, in Favour of Mr. *M'Leod*, a Person who had always been a strenuous Asserter of *Frazer's* Rights

Rights and Pretensions, all the While his Lordship was at Law with that Family. Such an Inconsistency in our Lord's Conduct can scarce be accounted for, except we impute it to Humour and Caprice, which often had as much Share in his Lordship's Actions, even as Self-Interest.

But notwithstanding he oppressed his Clan, neglected, or despised, his Friends, yet he cherished and protected the Tools and Instruments of Iniquity employed by him, particularly one *Donald Gruomach*; this Creature of his was for many Years a notorious Thief and Robber, and constantly devoted to the Service of his Lord in any kind of Villany. But at last, in the Year 1742, was overtaken by Justice, committed to *Dingual* Jail in *Ross-Shire*, and found Guilty. His Lordship, unwilling to part with so useful a Tool, sent a Party of armed Highlanders in Disguise, to break open the Prison in the Night, and rescue the Prisoner. But the Magistrates being aware of his Design, secured the Prison, and the Villain was hanged.

The blind and mad Zeal of the Clans to their Chiefs, we have mentioned before, and it may not be unacceptable to the Reader to give one particular Instance of it here. In the Year 1744, there was a Meeting appointed of the Freeholders and Collectors of
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the Land-Tax, at the Court House at *Inverness*, for the Choice of a Collector; at which Meeting were present Lord *Lovat*, Lord President, Lord *Fortrose*, and the Laird of *M'Leod*; on some Dispute between the Lords *Lovat* and *Fortrose*, the former was so provoked as to give the other the Lie; upon which the latter struck the other a Blow on his Face with his Fist; which his Lordship, notwithstanding his great Age, returned with several Strokes of his Cane; the other Gentlemen interposing, they were parted. One *Frazer* of *Foyer*, afterwards in the Rebellion, being in the Gallery, and seeing the Indignity that was offered to his Chief, jumped suddenly into the Court, and presented his Pistol to Lord *Fortrose*'s Face, Lord President threw himself between them, which so irritated *Frazer*, that he would have shot him, or Lord *Fortrose*, or both, but was prevented by a Gentleman standing by, who mimibly threw his Plaid over the Pistol, which prevented the threatened Mischief. Weapons of all Sorts were immediately drawn on both Sides, and a bloody Skirmish was likely to ensue. To prevent which Lord President and Mr. *M'Leod* prevailed on Lord *Fortrose* to go with them out of the Court-House into the Street, where another of the *Lovat* Clan, having heard how his Chief had been affronted, rushed suddenly

suddenly on Lord *Fortrose*, and, as he was walking between Lord President and Mr. *M'Leod*, knock'd him down with a long Stick. Both Parties being prodigiously enraged with these reciprocal Insults, dangerous Consequences, it was feared, would ensue, and Resentments carried to Extremities between the *Frasers* and the *M'Kenzies*, two powerful and neighbouring Clans; but the Lord President and other Friends interposing, the Parties were at length reconciled.

Among his Lordship's other Qualities, let us see a little of his Vanity. In the Year 1736, he erected a stately Monument in the Church-Yard of *Kirkhill*, not far from *Castledowny*. The Inscription upon it set forth, in a very pompous Stile, his own heroic Virtues and great Exploits, and in particular, what wonderful Things he had done for the Honour and Interest of his Family and Clan. It happened that Sir *Robert Munro*, who fell in the Battle of *Falkirk*, being on a Visit to his Lordship, desired to have a View of it. Sir *Robert*, upon reading the Inscription, in a free and jocular Manner, said, *Simon, how the Deel come you to have the Assurance to put up such a boasting and romantic Inscription? To which his Lordship answered, The Monument and Inscription are chiefly calculated for the Frasers, who must believe whatever I, their*

their Chief, require of them, and their Posterity will think it as true as the Gospel.

The Inscription on this Monument, is as follows :

“ To the Memory of Thomas Lord *Fra-*
 “ *ser* of *Lovat*, who chose rather to undergo
 “ the greatest Hardships of Fortune, than
 “ to part with the antient Honours of his
 “ House, and bore those Hardships with
 “ undaunted Fortitude of Mind.

“ This Monument was erected by *Simon*
 “ Lord *Frazer* of *Lovat*, his Son, who
 “ having likewise undergone many and great
 “ Vicissitudes of good and bad Fortune,
 “ thro’ the Malice of his Enemies, he, in
 “ the End, at the Head of his Clan, forced
 “ his Way to his paternal Inheritance, with
 “ his Sword in his Hand, and relieved his
 “ Kindred and Followers from Oppression
 “ and Slavery. And both at Home and
 “ in foreign Countries, by his eminent *Ac-*
 “ *tions in the War, and in the State, he*
 “ *has acquired great Honours and Reputa-*
 “ *tion.*”

Lord *Lovat* was certainly under great Obligations to the Government for the fortunate Turn in his Affairs after the Year 1715. His late Majesty frequently heaped Favours upon him; made him Lord Lieu-
 tenant

tenant of the County and Governor of *Inverness*, gave him a Pension, and the Command of a Highland Independent Company, there being several of those Companies raised after the Rebellion to preserve the Peace in the Highlands. The King knew my Lord's Character, and that he appeared in Arms against the Rebels purely to serve himself, and therefore his Majesty resolved, if possible, by loading him with Favours to let him see, that his chief Interest lay in serving the Government faithfully. This was good Policy; and had a late Ministry thought proper so far to comply with this dangerous Man, as even to continue him in the Enjoyment of those Gratifications which the late King thought fit to bestow upon him, the Rebellion, in all Probability, would never have been carried to such a Height as it was, for he, with his own Clan, could have crushed it in its Infancy. But in the Year 1738, his Lordship having voted contrary to the Directions of the Ministry, altho' the Candidate he voted for was in the Court Interest, they took away his Pension, stript him of his Command, and deprived him of every Mark of the Government's Favour.

The Ministry took another Step equally impolitic, as it was thought, which was the regimenting the Highland Companies in 1739, which were raised for preserving Tranquility
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in the Highlands, but were represented by a certain great Officer as no longer of Use in that Capacity, and in the Year 1742, were sent to *Flanders*; and no more than Six Companies were left in the Garrisons of the Highlands, viz. at Fort *St. George*, Fort *Augustus*, Fort *William*, and *Ruthven*. By which Means Lord *Lovat* was left at Liberty to put in Practice all his revengeful Designs; and his Insinuations and Influence were actually the first Foundation of our late Troubles.

It was not long before his Lordship shew'd his Disgust, after the Court Favour was withdrawn from him: And, his Conversation plainly discovered, that he only wanted an Opportunity to break out into Rebellion. Not long after the Battle of *Preston-Pans*, the *Frasers*, to the Number of 500, were assembled, and armed, and sent to join the Rebels at *Perth*. But that his Lordship might seem to have no Hand in it, this low Subterfuge was made use of. It was given out, that a large Number of Lord *Lovat's* Cattle were stolen and carried off by a Party of Robbers, and that there was certain Information brought in, that the Thieves were driving them Southwards. Whereupon, my Lord's Son, the Master of *Lovat*, was detached after them at the Head of the above-mentioned Body of *Frasers*, but using
too

too little Caution in their March, they were intercepted by a Party of the Rebels and forced to take on with them. A Report was current about this Time, and generally believed, that his Lordship made an Offer to a certain great Man at Court, that if 25,000 *l.* was put into his Hands, to be distributed among the Chiefs of the Clans, he would engage that that Part of the Country should be kept quiet, and the Highlanders obliged to assist the King's Forces. Strange as this Proposal was, after he had worked up the Spirit of Rebellion in his Clan, yet he had this View in it, that upon Refusal of the Offer, he cherished and kept alive the rebellious Disposition in them, by an Ostentation of his own Importance, and likewise to render himself the more considerable in the Eyes of the Government. His Proposal, however, was rejected with Disdain, and his Designs suspected; and so he was reduced to a Sort of Necessity of engaging in Support of the Pretender, whose Cause, above Forty Years ago, he had notoriously betrayed, and strenuously opposed in 1715, and therefore could not now expect any great Confidence from that Party.

The Lord President, who, since the Breaking out of the Insurrection in *Scotland*, has been exceeding active and vigilant in the Service of the Government, out of a sincere

sincere Concern for the Lord *Lovat*, wrote him a Letter, expressing his unfeign'd Friendship for his Lordship, but at the same Time intimated, that he was not unacquainted with his secret and disloyal Practices, entreating him to relinquish an Enterprize; the certain and unavoidable Consequence of which would be Ruin and Destruction to himself and Family; and advising him to order and enjoin his Son and People to leave the Rebels, and return to their Duty and Allegiance to their natural and lawful Sovereign. This produced an Answer from his Lordship. The Perusal of which may convince any Man to which Side his Inclinations were bias'd, and is indeed a true Picture of the Man. Evasions and Sophistry he opposes to Reason and Argument, and covers his real Designs under the Cloak of Hypocrisy. But as the Letter and Answer will best discover the different Temper and Disposition of the Writers of them, we shall insert them both for the Satisfaction of the Reader.

Lord

Lord President's L E T T E R *to Lord*
 LOVAT, *dated at Inverness, the 28th of*
 October, 1745.

MY LORD,

“ A S I have now the Honour of being
 “ charged with the public Affairs in
 “ this Part of the Kingdom, I can no
 “ longer remain a Spectator of your Lord-
 “ ship's Conduct, and see the double Game
 “ you have played for some Time past,
 “ without betraying the Trust reposed in
 “ me, and at once risking my Reputation,
 “ and the Fidelity that I owe to his Ma-
 “ jesty as a good Subject. Your Lordship's
 “ Actions now discover evidently your
 “ Inclinations, and leave us no farther in
 “ the Dark about what Side you are to
 “ choose in the present unhappy Insurrec-
 “ tion: You have now pull'd off the Mask,
 “ that we can see the Mark you aim at,
 “ tho' on former Occasions you have had
 “ the Skill and Address to disguise your
 “ Intentions in Matters of far less Impor-
 “ tance. And indeed methinks a little more
 “ of your Lordship's wonted Artifice would
 “ not have been amiss, whatever had been
 “ your private Sentiments with Respect to

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“ this

“ this unnatural Rebellion. You should,
 “ my Lord, have duly considered and esti-
 “ mated the Advantages that would arise to
 “ your Lordship from its Success, and ba-
 “ lanced them with the Risques you run if
 “ it should happen to miscarry ; and above
 “ all Things you ought to have considered
 “ your own Safety, and allowed *that* the
 “ chief Place in your System of Politics ;
 “ which, I persuade myself, would have
 “ induced your Lordship to have played the
 “ Game after a quite different Manner, and
 “ with a much greater Degree of Caution
 “ and Policy. But so far has your Lord-
 “ ship been from acting with your ordinary
 “ *Finesse* and Circumspection on this Oc-
 “ casion, that you sent away your Son and
 “ the best Part of your Clan to join the
 “ Pretender, with as little Concern as if no
 “ Danger had attended such a Step : I say,
 “ sent them away, for we are not to ima-
 “ gine they went of themselves, or would
 “ have ventured to take Arms without your
 “ Lordship’s Concurrence and Approbation.
 “ This, however, you are pretty sure can-
 “ not be easily proved, which, I believe,
 “ indeed, may be true. But I cannot think
 “ it will be a dutiful Matter to make it
 “ appear, that the whole Strain of your
 “ Lordship’s Conversation in every Company
 “ where you have appeared, since the Pre-
 “ tender’s

“ tender’s Arrival has tended to pervert the
 “ Minds of his Majesty’s Subjects, and
 “ seduce them from their Allegiance: And
 “ give me Leave to tell you, my Lord,
 “ even this falls under the *Construction* of
 “ *Treason*, and is no less liable to Punish-
 “ ment than open Rebellion; as I am afraid
 “ your Lordship will find when once this
 “ Insurrection is crushed, and the Govern-
 “ ment at Leisure to examine into the Af-
 “ fair. And I am sorry to tell you, my
 “ Lord, that I could sooner undertake to
 “ plead the Cause of any of those unhappy
 “ Gentlemen, who are just now actually in
 “ Arms against his Majesty, and I could
 “ say more in Defence of their Conduct,
 “ than I can in Defence of your Lordship’s.
 “ The Duke of *Perth* and Lord *Ogilvy*
 “ never qualified, nor did they ever receive
 “ the smallest Favour from the present Go-
 “ vernment; but, on the contrary, were
 “ both stripped of their Titles and Honours,
 “ and from Men of the first Quality reduced
 “ to the State of private Gentlemen, since
 “ the Revolution, and may both be supposed
 “ to act from a Principle of Resentment;
 “ and only take up Arms to recover what
 “ they thought themselves unjustly deprived
 “ of. Lord *George Murray* never had any
 “ Place or Pension from the Public, and
 “ was, no Doubt, drawn in by the Influence

“ of the Marquess of *Tullibardin*, perhaps,
 “ touched with Pity and Commiseration for
 “ his eldest Brother, who has spent the
 “ best Part of his Life in Exile, and un-
 “ doubtedly upon an Allowance much in-
 “ ferior to his Dignity. These, and such
 “ like Apologies, may be offered in Defence
 “ of most of the leading Men in the pre-
 “ sent Rebellion; but what shall I say in
 “ Favour of you, my Lord? You, who
 “ have flourished under the present happy
 “ Establishment; you, who in the Begin-
 “ ning of your Days, forfeited both your
 “ Life and Fortune, and yet, by the Be-
 “ nignity of the Government, was not only
 “ indulged in the Liberty of living at home,
 “ but even restored to all you could lay
 “ Claim to: Nay, his Majesty’s Goodness
 “ went so far as to employ your Lordship
 “ in his Service, and was pleased to honour
 “ you with the Command of one of the
 “ Independent Companies that were raised
 “ some Years ago in the Highlands, which
 “ you enjoyed for a very long Time: So
 “ that both Duty and Gratitude ought to have
 “ influenced your Lordship’s Conduct, at
 “ this critical Juncture, and disposed you to
 “ have acted a Part quite different from
 “ what you have done. But there are some
 “ Men whom no Duty can bind, nor no
 “ Favour can oblige; and, I am afraid,
 “ if

“ if a timely Repentance do not prevent it,
 “ your Lordship, will, not unjustly, be
 “ ranked among that Number. You now
 “ see, my Lord, how unanimous the People
 “ of *England* are against the Pretender, and
 “ what Forces they are mustering up to
 “ oppose him. The King has ordered Home
 “ his Troops; several Noblemen have raised
 “ Regiments at their own Expences, and
 “ every County and Corporation throughout
 “ the Kingdom are entering into Associati-
 “ ons in Defence of the present Establish-
 “ ment; So that these few unhappy Gen-
 “ tlemen, who are engaged in this Rebel-
 “ lion, will have Armies after Armies to en-
 “ counter, and if your Lordship entertains
 “ any Hopes of their Success, you will find
 “ your Mistake when it is too late to amend
 “ it. What I would therefore propose to
 “ your Lordship, as the only Expedient
 “ left to rescue you from the Hazard of a
 “ rigorous Prosecution, is, to recall your
 “ Son and his Men immediately. This
 “ Step, I am persuaded, would produce
 “ several good Consequences; for, on the
 “ one Hand, it would prevent Numbers
 “ from joining the Rebels, who now hang
 “ in Suspense; and, on the other, occa-
 “ sion a great many of those already en-
 “ gaged to desert and retire to their respec-
 “ tive Habitations, and, perhaps, may be
 “ the

“ the Means of crushing the Rebellion with-
 “ out farther Bloodshed ; which would do
 “ your Lordship a great Deal of Honour,
 “ and such a remarkable Piece of Service
 “ would be amply rewarded by the Govern-
 “ ment. If you shall judge it proper, my
 “ Lord, to follow this Advice, it will give
 “ me a great Deal of Pleasure, as it will
 “ contribute to stop the Progress of an un-
 “ happy Civil War, that threatens us with
 “ endless Calamities ; but if your Lordship
 “ continues obstinate, and will not order
 “ your Men to disband and return Home,
 “ I shall be obliged to take you into Custody,
 “ be the Event what it will ; And then
 “ your Lordship will run the Risque of hav-
 “ ing your Family extirpated, as well as
 “ others of the Highland Chiefs. Now,
 “ my Lord, I have told your Lordship my
 “ Sentiments pretty freely, and no less out
 “ of Friendship to your Lordship than Duty
 “ to the Public. I might have advanced
 “ many other Arguments, to induce your
 “ Lordship to follow my Advice, but, me-
 “ thinks, what I have already said, is suf-
 “ ficient ; and so I shall only farther add,
 “ that I am,

Your's, &c.

The

*The Lord Lovat's Answer to the foregoing
Letter, dated at Beaufort, October 29,
1745.*

My dear Lord,

“ I Received the Honour of your Lord-
 “ ship's Letter late last Night, of Yef-
 “ terday's Date; and I own I never received
 “ one like it since I was born; and I give
 “ your Lordship ten thousand Thanks for
 “ the kind Freedom you make with me in
 “ it: For I see by it, that for my Misfor-
 “ tune, in having an obstinate stubborn
 “ Son, and ungrateful Kindred, my Family
 “ must go to Destruction, and I must lose
 “ my Life in my old Age. Such Usage
 “ looks rather like a *Turkish* or *Persian* Go-
 “ vernment, than like a *British*. Am I,
 “ my Lord, the first Father that has had
 “ an undutiful and unnatural Son? Or am
 “ I the first Man that has made a good
 “ Estate, and saw it destroyed in his own
 “ Time by the mad foolish Actions of an
 “ unnatural Son, who prefers his own ex-
 “ travagant Fancies to the solid Advice of
 “ an affectionate old Father? I have seen
 “ Instances of this in my own Time, but
 “ never heard till now, that the Foolish-
 “ ness

" nefs of a Son would take away the Life
 " and Liberty of a Father that lived peace-
 " ably, and was an honest Man, and well-
 " inclined to the rest of Mankind. But I
 " find, the longer a Man lives, the more
 " Wonders and extraordinary Things he
 " sees. Now, my dear Lord, I beg Leave
 " to tell you my Mind freely in my Turn.
 " I thank God I was born with very little
 " Fear in the greatest Difficulties and Dan-
 " gers by Sea and Land, and, by God's Af-
 " sistance, I have often saved my Life by
 " the Firmness and Steadiness of my Reso-
 " lutions; and tho' I have now but a
 " little Remains of a Life that is clogged
 " with Infirmities and Pain, yet by God's
 " Assistance, I am resolved to preserve it
 " as long as I can. And tho' my Son
 " should give way with the young People
 " of his Clan, yet I will have six hundred
 " brave *Frasers* at Home, many of them
 " about my own Age, that will lose the
 " last Drop of their Blood to preserve my
 " Person; and I do assure your Lordship,
 " if I am attacked, that I will sell my Life
 " as dear as I can. For, since I am as
 " peaceable a Subject as any in the King-
 " dom, and as ready to pay the King's
 " Taxes, and to do every Thing that a
 " faithful Subject ought to do. I know no
 " Law or Reason th^a son should
 " not

“ not be in Safety. I did use, and will use,
 “ the strongest Arguments that my Reason
 “ can suggest to me by my Cousin *Gortu-*
 “ *legge*, that he may repeat them to my
 “ Son; and if they should not prevail, is it
 “ any ways just or equitable that I should
 “ be punished for the Faults of my Son?
 “ Now, my dear Lord, as to the uncivil
 “ War that occasions my Misfortunes, and
 “ in which almost the whole Kingdom is
 “ involved, on one Side or the other, I
 “ humbly think that Men should be mode-
 “ rate on both Sides, since it is morally im-
 “ possible to know the Event; for Thou-
 “ sands, ten Thousands on both Sides are
 “ positive that their own Party will carry it.
 “ And suppose that this venturous Prince
 “ should be utterly defeated, and that the
 “ Government should carry all in Triumph,
 “ no Man can think that any King upon
 “ the Throne would destroy so many antient
 “ good Families for engaging in a Cause
 “ that was always their Principle, and what
 “ they thought their Duty to support. King
 “ *William* was as great a King, as to his
 “ Knowledge of Government and Politics,
 “ as late for many hundred Years upon
 “ the Throne of *England*; and when his
 “ General, who was one of the best in
 “ *Europe*, was defeat, and forced to run to
 N^o XIV. A a “ save

“ save his Life, and all his Army routed at
 “ *Killicranky* by a handful of Highlanders,
 “ not full two Thousand in Number, King
 “ *William* was so far from desiring to ex-
 “ tirpate them, that he sent the Earl of
 “ *Breaddalbine* with twenty - five thousand
 “ Pounds Sterling, and fought no other
 “ Conditions from them, than that they
 “ should live peaceably at home. So, my
 “ Lord, we cannot imagine, that tho’ the
 “ Highlanders should be defeated at this
 “ Time, and most of them killed, and the
 “ Government full Masters of the King-
 “ dom, that any Administration would be
 “ so cruel, as to endeavour to extirpate the
 “ whole Remains of the Highlanders. Be-
 “ sides, it would be a dangerous Enterprize,
 “ which we, nor our Children, would see
 “ at an End.

“ I pray God we may never see such a
 “ Scene in our Country, as Subjects killing
 “ and destroying their Fellow Subjects. For
 “ my Part, my Lord, I am resolved to live
 “ a peaceable Subject in my own House,
 “ and do nothing against the King, or
 “ Government. And if I am attacked by
 “ the King’s Guards, and his Captain-Ge-
 “ neral at their Head, I will defend myself
 “ as long as I have Breath in me: And if
 “ I am killed here, it is not far to my
 “ Burial-

Burial-Place; and I will have, after I am
 “ dead, what I always wished, the Coronach
 “ of all the Women in my Country, to
 “ convey my Body to my Grave; and that
 “ was my Ambition when I was in my
 “ happiest Situation in the World.

I am,

My L O R D,

Your Lordship's, &c.

It was in vain to think of reclaiming his
 Lordship, for he still continued more daring
 and open in his Proceedings, which deter-
 mined the Earl of *Loudon*, who was then
 at *Inverness*, to put a Stop thereto: He
 marched with some Hundreds of his Men to
Castledowny, and sent Lord *Lovat* a Mes-
 sage, in the King's Name, to attend him to
Inverness, and deliver up what Arms he had
 in his Possession: My Lord not finding him-
 self in a Condition to resist, submitted to go
 along with Lord *Loudon*, and remain at
Inverness as a Security for his peaceable Be-
 haviour, and accordingly staid there for some
 Days, but, upon some sham Pretence or
 other, delayed to perform his Promise as to
 delivering

delivering up the Arms; and notwithstanding he was strictly watched, and Centinels placed at his Lodgings, yet he, at length, found Means to break thro' the back Part of the House in the Night-Time, and make his Escape. After which, it was said, he was very instrumental in fomenting and carrying on the Rebellion, by raising and arming the Highlanders, and alarming them with Fears of being extirpated and destroy'd by the King's Troops with Fire and Sword, and persuading them there were no other Means left for their Preservation, but by having recourse to Arms to defend their Lives, Properties, and Families, from the Rapine and Violence of their Enemies. In order to inforce this Matter, it is reported, that he published a Declaration, or Manifesto, which he caused to be publicly read in the *Kirks* on a *Sunday*. His Son was at the Head of the *Frasers*, at the famous Battle of *Culloden-House*, where they behaved with their usual Courage and Resolution.

The Pretender's Son, after his Defeat, the same Night, fled to Lord *Lovat's* House, and finding his Lordship at home in his Bed-Chamber, he burst into Tears, and said, *My, good Lord, we are undone, my Heart bleeds for poor Scotland*; and without adding more

more he fell down upon the Bed in a Swoon. The next Day his Lordship and his Guest retired to a mountainous and woody Country called *Glenstrafarrar*, where his Lordship remained for some Time upon the Summit of the *Capillach*, being an extraordinary high Mountain, from which there is a Prospect of all the Country round for many Miles, great Part of which belongs to his Lordship's Estate; here he, with 300 of his *Frasers* that escaped from the Battle, observed the Motions of the King's Troops, and perceived a Body of about 800 march to his Seat of *Castledowny*, which he had the Mortification to see demolished and burnt down to the Ground: He thereupon addressed his sorrowful Clan with these Words: *Now, Gentlemen, you see my Predictions, that our Enemies would destroy us with Fire and Sword, prove true, they have begun with me, and will not make an End before they have laid waste, ravaged and burnt our unhappy Country.*

His *Frasers* hereupon, fired with Rage and Indignation, vowed that they would rush down and attack the Villains who had acted such a Piece of Cruelty and Indignity against their Chief, and resolved, that in avenging the same, they would die gloriously, asserting the Cause of Liberty and their

much injured Lord ; but he with Tears and Intreaties restrained their furious and desperate Purpose, and conjured them to preserve their Lives, and wait for a more favourable Opportunity of retaliating their unspeakable Affronts and Wrongs, and the outrageous and lawless Violence that was then done him by burning and demolishing his House.

About the 5th or 6th of *June*, his Lordship was taken and carried by some of his Majesty's Troops, to *Fort William*. From whence he wrote the following Letter to his Royal Highness the DUKE at his Camp at *Fort Augustus*.

S I R,

“ THIS Letter is most humbly ad-
 “ dressed to your Royal Highness,
 “ by the very unfortunate *Simon Lord Fra-*
 “ *ser of Lovat*. I durst not presume to
 “ solicit, or petition, your Royal Highness
 “ for any Favour, if it was not very well
 “ known to the best People in this Country
 “ attached to the Government, such as the
 “ Lord President, and by those that fre-
 “ quented the Court at that Time, that I
 “ did more essential Service to your Royal
 “ Family in suppressing the great Rebellion
 “ in

“ in the Year 1715, with the Hazard of
 “ my Life, and the Loss of my only Brother,
 “ than any of my Rank in *Scotland*; for
 “ which I had three Letters of Thanks from
 “ my Royal Master, by the Hands of Earl
 “ *Stanhope*, then Secretary of State, in
 “ which his Majesty strongly promised to
 “ give me such Marks of his Favour as
 “ should oblige all the Country to be faith-
 “ ful to him; therefore the gracious King
 “ was as good as his Word to me, for as
 “ soon as I arrived at Court, and was in-
 “ troduced to the King by the late Duke of
 “ *Argyll*, I became, by Degrees, to be as
 “ great a Favourite as any *Scotchman* about
 “ the Court; and I often carried your Royal
 “ Highness in my Arms in the Parks of
 “ *Kenfington* and *Hampton-Court*, to hold
 “ you up to your Royal Grandfather, that
 “ he might embrace you, for he was very
 “ fond of you and the young Princeesses,
 “ Now, Sir, all that I have to say in my
 “ present Circumstances is, that your Royal
 “ Highness will be pleased to extend your
 “ Goodness towards me, in a generous and
 “ compassionate Manner, in my present de-
 “ plorable Situation; and, if I have the
 “ Honour to kiss your Royal Highness’s
 “ Hand, I would easily demonstrate to you,
 “ that I can do more Service to the King

“ and Government, than the destroying
 “ an hundred such old and very infirm Men
 “ like me, passed 70, (without the least
 “ Use of my Hands, Legs, or Knees) can
 “ be of Advantage in any Shape to the Go-
 “ vernment.

“ Your Royal Father, our present Sove-
 “ reign, was very kind to me in the Year
 “ 1715. I presented on my Knees to his
 “ Majesty a Petition in Favour of the Laird
 “ of *Mac-Intosh*, to obtain a Protection for
 “ him; which he granted me, and gave it
 “ to *Charles Cathcart*, then Groom of his
 “ Bedchamber, and ordered him to deliver
 “ it into my Hands, that I might give it
 “ to the Laird of *Mac-Intosh*. This was
 “ but one Testimony of several Marks of
 “ Goodness his Majesty was pleased to be-
 “ stow on me while the King was at *Han-*
 “ *over*; so I hope I shall feel, that the same
 “ compassionate Blood runs in your Royal
 “ Highness's Veins.

“ Major-General *Campbell* told me, that
 “ he had the Honour to acquaint your Royal
 “ Highness, that he was sending me to
 “ *Fort - William*, and that he begged of
 “ your Royal Highness to order a Litter to
 “ be made for me to carry me to *Fort-*
 “ *Augustus*, as I am in such a Condition,
 “ that I am not able to stand, walk, nor
 “ ride.

ride. I am, with the utmost Submission,
and most profound Respect,

S I R,

Your Royal Highness's

Most obedient

And most faithful

Humble Servant,

L O V A T.

On *Sunday* the 15th of *June*, his Lordship was brought Prisoner to *Fort-Augustus*, in his Horse-Litter, with about 50 Rebels more. He had been taken by Captain *Ferguson* of the Furnace Bomb, in a Boat attempting to get on Board a Ship; others say, the said Captain took him in the Trunk of a Tree, where he had the Mortification to live Twelve Days on Oatmeal and Water, altho' he had 5, or 600 Guineas in his Pockets: Another Mortification it must have been to the old Man, that when he was brought to the Camp at *Fort-Augustus*, the Sutlers and all the Followers

lowers of the Army received him with Hisses.

On the 15th of *July* his Lordship was conveyed to *Stirling* under a strong Guard, where he was received by a Detachment of Lord *Mark Ker's* Dragoons, under the Command of Major *Gardiner*. From *Stirling* after a few Days Rest, he proceeded to *Edinburgh*, on his Way to *London*. From thence he went on to *Berwick*; and on the 25th proceeded on his Journey, being escorted by Major *Gardiner* and sixty Dragoons. His Journey from thence to *London* was divided into twenty Stages, and he was to travel one Stage a Day.

On the 28th he arrived at *Newcastle* in a Coach and Six, guarded as before, but appeared to be in a very helpless Condition; for in going from the Coach to his Lodgings, two of the Dragoons, who were of his Guard, supported him, with his Arms round their Shoulders, and two of their Arms round his Back. His Postillion, his Cook, and another Person taken with him, were under the same Guard, and travelled with him to *London*; the first of whom was to be an Evidence against him. The next Day he set forward again, amidst, not the Acclamations, but, the Hisses, Scorns, and Reproaches of the incensed Populace.
In

In his Lordship's Journey from *Newcastle* to *Leicester* nothing remarkable happened; but lying at the *Three Cranes* in that Town, the next Morning my Lord asked Mr. *Oliver*, the Landlord, for his Spouse; he told his Lordship, she was not at home, being gone a few Miles off to visit a Relation; but desired to know what his Lordship would please to have with her, if she had been at home. Only, said he, *to have buss'd her, for that he had buss'd every Landlady in his Journey thither; but must let her alone then till he came back again.*

On the 14th of *August*, his Lordship lay at *Barnet*, and on the 15th, which was the *Friday* before the Lords *Kilmar-nock* and *Balmerino* were beheaded, on *Tower-Hill*, he arrived in Town: And in his Way to the Tower, passed by the Scaffolding that was erecting against that Execution, and beholding it thro' the Coach Door, *Ah!* said he, *so it is? It will not be long, I suppose, before I shall make my Exit at the same Place.*

When he came to the Tower, he was received by General *Williamson*, Lieutenant-Governor of the Place, who conducted him to the Apartment appointed for his Reception; but being very feeble, both in his Hands and Legs, some of the Warders
were

were forced to assist him from the Coach to his Room, where being seated in an Elbow-Chair, and having taken somewhat to refresh him, he could not forbear uttering some Reflections on the Hardship of his Fate, to this Effect: " What a Life of
 " Perturbation and Care has mine been?
 " The former Part of it was loaded with
 " Confusion and Trouble, distressed by my
 " Enemies, deprived of my Honours and
 " Estate, persecuted and hunted from my
 " native Place, obliged to take Refuge in
 " bleak and barbarous Mountains, forced to
 " procure even the Necessaries of Life among
 " a People little better than Savages, and
 " suffer all the Inclemencies of the Seasons,
 " and almost perished with Hunger and
 " Cold. My Enemies not content with
 " the forlorn Condition to which they
 " had driven me, sought my Life with as
 " much Eagerness as the Hound does that
 " of the Hare. To save myself from their
 " hungry Jaws, I was obliged to quit my
 " native Country, and seek for Shelter in
 " a foreign Kingdom, where I remained
 " many Years in Exile. What Scenes of
 " Hardships, Afflictions, and Distresses, have
 " I gone thro'! What a Variety of Troubles
 " and Sorrows have I experienced! No
 " Man, I believe, ever suffered more; no
 " Man

" Man ever deserved them less *. But
 " so it has pleased Heaven to deal with
 " me ; and I am content. I am now ar-
 " rived at an old Age, and was in Hopes
 " I should have spent my few remaining
 " Days in Peace and Tranquility. But it
 " seems I have not yet suffered enough ;
 " the Malice of my Fate has prepared ano-
 " ther melancholy Scene for me ; and the
 " last Act of my Life is to conclude the
 " Whole in a very tragical Catastrophe.
 " Be it so ; I have at least this Comfort to
 " support me, that I have never deviated
 " from those Principles which I first im-
 " bibed, and which I always thought just
 " and upright ; and whatever my Enemies
 " have to alledge against my Conduct or
 " Actions, this I can truly affirm, that my
 " Behaviour has, on all Occasions, been
 " consistent with my Sentiments. No
 " doubt, I have been guilty of many Er-
 " rors, and whoever says he is without,
 " let him cast the first Stone at me. But
 " it affords me no small Consolation, that
 " at a Time when I have nothing left to
 " support me but a good Conscience, that
 " in all my Dealings with Mankind, whe-

" ther

* Very few, I believe, will credit his Lordship in this.

“ ther they were my Superiors, Equals, or
 “ Inferiors, I always acted from a thorough
 “ Conviction, that what I did was right
 “ and equitable : But *humanum est errare* ;
 “ and I hope the great God, will not now,
 “ in my old Age, bring in Judgment against
 “ me, the Sins and Follies of my Youth,
 “ or even of my more advanced Years ;
 “ but mercifully remember the Frailties of
 “ human Nature, the Defects and Imperfec-
 “ tions of Reason, the Strength of Passions,
 “ the Violence of Temptations, all which
 “ separately, but more especially conjunctly,
 “ might too powerfully bias the Mind, and,
 “ consequently, too much influence the Will
 “ to commit such Things as could not always
 “ square either with the Laws of God or Man.”

Lord *Lovat*, in his Person, makes a very
 grotesque Figure, he is generally more load-
 ed with Cloaths than a *Dutchman*, having
 nine or ten Pair of Breeches ; he is tall
 of Sature and walks upright, considering his
 great Age, and is tolerably well shaped ; he
 has a large Mouth and short Nose, with
 Eyes very much contracted and down-look-
 ing, a very small Forehead, almost all co-
 vered with a large Peruke ; this gives him a
 sour and grim Aspect, but upon addres-
 sing himself to any one, he puts on a smil-
 ing and obliging Countenance, which is
 not

not at all disagreeable: He is near-sighted, and affects to be much more so than he really is; he was naturally of a robust and vigorous Constitution, and a strong and active Body, hardened by Fatigue, inured to Hunger and Thirst, Heat and Cold, and improved by all manly Exercises; but his long Confinement in the *Bastile* had greatly impaired his Constitution; he has however taken such Care of himself, that he still preserves a Degree of Health and Vigour very uncommon at so advanced an Age. He has good natural Parts and some Share of Learning. He is affable in Conversation, and so great a Master of Flattery and Dissimulation, that he generally pleases and gains the Good-Will, if not the Esteem, of those he converses with, however prejudiced or prepossessed they might have been against him. He entertains his Guests with Cheerfulness and Hospitality, but being sordidly avaricious, he grumbles privately at the least Expence; and tho' to their Faces he caresses them, yet no sooner do they turn their Backs, than he pronounces Curses and Execrations against them for the Trouble and Charge they put him to. He is ambitious and proud, but when it serves his Turn, cringing, mean, and fawning. He is crafty and subtle, but at Times open and unguarded

guarded in his Speeches and Actions, and that even in Matters of great Concern ; by this Means he has frequently involved himself in Dangers and Difficulties ; but is fertile in Expedients to extricate himself out of them. He is naturally brave and resolute, tho' as to invisible Powers, he is fearful and timid, and as to his Health and the less Accidents of Life, scruples to a Degree of Pusillanimity. He is of an amorous and solacious Temper, but for many Years past, he has been very cautious in respect to Women of Rank, being sensible that Intrigues of that Sort are often attended with disagreeable Consequences ; he therefore made his Addresses to the lowest and meanest of the Female Sex, which saved him the Trouble of long and laborious Courtships, which he had but little Time for, on Account of the Multiplicity of his Affairs.

It may be looked upon as a strange Inconsistency, that his Lordship, being a Person of great Penetration, and long Experience in Business, who had, for many Years, struggled with powerful Enemies, and with Poverty and Distress, and at last conquered them all, should now be drawn into a chimerical and desperate Scheme, in concert with a Nation that he knew to be treacherous and perfidious, which must
end

end in his own Destruction, and the Ruin of his Family. His present Conduct can hardly be accounted for any other Way, than by supposing that it proceeded from a deliberate and malignant Purpose to ruin and subvert our present Government; merely because they have not thought fit to gratify his ambitious and avaricious Passions and Desires.



N^o XV.

Bb

SOME



SOME
MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE and HISTORY
OF

WILLIAM MURRAY, Esq;



WILLIAM MURRAY, of *Brughton*, Esq; is descended of the House of *Athol*, and sprung immediately from the Branch of *Auchtertyre*. His Estate, which lies in the West of *Scotland*, is accounted something better than fifteen hundred Pounds a Year.

His Education has been liberal. He went thro' a Course of Philosophy at the University of *Edinburgh*; and afterwards, according to the Custom of this Country, attended the Classes of the Civil and Municipal Law; but his

his most intimate Acquaintance say, that for want of Application, rather than Capacity, he made very little Progress in the Knowledge, either of Law, or Philosophy. His Genius seemed rather turned for Languages than Sciences, and he soon acquired a tolerable Notion of *Greek* and *Latin*, and afterwards became Master of *French* and *Italian*, and spoke them fluently.

On quitting the University, Mr. *Murray* made the Tour of *Europe* under the Care of Mr. *A-----r S-----r*, a Gentleman of Learning and Capacity, who had travelled with several Gentlemen and young Noblemen before, and therefore was well qualified for a Tutor, but had one Fault that counterbalanced all his good Qualities, which was his Principles in Politics, being a bigotted *Jacobite*.

Mr. *Murray*, like most young Gentlemen, had hitherto not much troubled himself about Religion, or Politics, he was bred up by his Parents indeed to go to the Episcopal Meeting, and had an early Prejudice against the established *Kirk* of *Scotland*, which might instil into his Mind some early Notions of *Jacobitism*; for it is well known, that in *Scotland* to be of the Church of *England* and a *Jacobite* are almost synonymous Terms.

Thus we may say Mr. *Murray* was bred a *Jacobite*, and whatever political Notions he had when he went to travel seemed to point that Way; but as soon as he came under the Direction of his travelling Tutor, he became a thorough-paced *Jacobite*. The Tutor's Conversation had great Influence upon him; and the Conversation of some of those unhappy Gentlemen, who were Fugitives from their native Country on Account of the Rebellion in the Year 1715, still confirmed him the more; for the Tutor took Care, that wherever any of these unhappy Gentlemen were to be met with, that they were the constant Companions of his Pupil, and Railings against the present Government, no doubt, took up great Part of their Conversation.

He was privately introduced to the Chevalier *de St. George* at *Rome*; but was too young as yet to form any Scheme, or to be trusted with any of the Secrets of the Party: Yet he gave the Pretender full Assurance of his Attachment to his Person and Interest; and tho' nothing passed at the private Interview, but what is common in Visits of Ceremony, yet it so turned Mr. *Murray's* Head upon Politics, that he fancied himself from that Day a Statesman of great Importance; and from this Period, we may believe he laid the Plan

Plan of his own Ruin in the last wild and unnatural Rebellion.

After an Absence of three Years, and having visited the several Places which employ the Curiosity of young Travellers, he returned very little improved, except in his Antipathy to the established Church and Government, and the high Opinion of his own Abilities.

He was impatient till he had communicated to all his Friends whom he thought he could trust with such a Secret, that he had had the Honour of kissing the Pretender's Hand, and been admitted to a private Audience; and made them believe that the Conversation turned upon the State of his Affairs in *Scotland*; and that his Majesty, as he called him, had communicated to him his Intention of making a Push soon to recover Possession of the Crown.

Mr. *Murray* by this gained the Confidence and Esteem of all the old Women in the Neighbourhood, who crouded to see the Man who had seen the King: And he appeared to them as the Pretender's Plenipotentiary in those Parts. An Incident happened that much raised Mr. *Murray's* Reputation among the People about him, and convinced them that he was much in Favour with the Chevalier; the Titular Bishop of *Galloway* happened at this Time

to die, and Mr. *Murray* took upon him to write to one of the Pretender's Domesticks, with whom he had scraped an Acquaintance at *Rome*, recommending one *Moxwell*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, who officiated as his Chaplain, to this Dignity; Mr. *Murray's* Correspondent was so happy as to succeed; and the Chaplain was nominated to the vacant See: So considerable a Promotion by Mr. *Murray's* Influence, made the poor People, who were let into the Secret, believe, that there was nothing impossible for his Worship; and he himself fancied he should soon be a considerable Man.

He formed a Cabal, or kind of Club, which met once a Fortnight at his House, where they spent their Time in laying Schemes for a Restoration; reviling the Government, and drinking the Pretender's Health. The Club consisted of some Farmers, his Worship's Barber, his Chaplain, the School-Master of the Parish, with about a Dozen old Women. His Worship was President of this learned Assembly; and opened their Sessions constantly with a learned Speech, full of Invectives against the present Government, and then they entered upon an Enumeration of the national Grievances: This Club was carried on for two or three Years, but without any considerable Addition to their Numbers, which, however,

however, did not discourage them; for this wise Assembly looked upon themselves as the Representatives of the whole Kingdom, and very little would have persuaded them to take upon them the Name of a Parliament: But about the End of the third Year of their Sessions, an Accident happened, which disturbed this wise Senate, and disconcerted their Projects. Mr. *Murray* happened to be at *Edinburgh*, and in his Absence, the Barber one Night introduced a Stranger into the Club, a Smuggler, who gave Information of their Proceedings the next Day to a neighbouring Justice. And this Justice owing Mr. *Murray* a Spite, granted Warrants against several of them. Mr. *Murray* was soon informed of the Fate of his Friends, and was struck with a Pannick, lest some of them, to save their own Bacon, should impeach him. His Fear was not groundless; and that pious Church Man, the Titular Bishop of *Galloway* being taken into Custody, made no Scruple to discover the whole Intent of the Assembly, and the Part Mr. *Murray* acted; and did not forget that he had procured for him the Pretender's Nomination to the Bishopric of *Galloway*: All this amounted to High-Treason: However, some of Mr. *Murray*'s Friends, who knew his Weakness, found Means to stifle the Information, on Condition that the Club should

be broken, and the Titular Bishop absent himself from the Country.

The ill Blood which the Excise Scheme, and afterwards the Affair of Capt. *Porteous*, had bred in the Nation, made Mr. *Murray* believe that a proper Time was come to attempt something again in Favour of the Pretender. Therefore, consulting with two or three of his Friends of the same Stamp, it was agreed, that he should go to the Pretender to give him an Account of the Situation of his Friends in the Highlands, and carry an Address as from all the Highland Clans, wherein Mr. *Murray* was recommended as their Agent.

He made some Stay at *Paris* in his Way to *Rome*; and attempted to be introduced to the Cardinal, in order to communicate to him the Design of his Journey; but that Minister got Information of our Politician's Character, and could not be persuaded to honour him with an Interview: However he got some Letters from the Marquess of *Tullibardin*, old *Lockiel*, and some other Gentlemen of that Party then at *Paris*, to their Acquaintance at the Pretender's Court: Upon his Arrival there, he first applied to Mr. *Kelly*, to whom he had some Letters: This Gentleman, upon a slight Conversation, soon found the Depth and Shallows of our Politician, and gave him but a very cool

cool Reception; and declined introducing him to the Pretender, but offered to deliver his Dispatches. Mr. *Murray* did not like this Method of Proceeding, and refused to trust *Kelly* with his Letters. He then applied to Mr. C-----e, the Priest, who introduced him to the Lady *Inverness*; that is, to Colonel *Hay's* Lady, who is reputed to be the Pretender's Mistress, and assumes at *Rome*, the Title of Lady *Inverness*; that Lady was prevailed on to procure him a private Audience of the Chevalier; to whom he delivered his Dispatches. The Pretender, who had been prepossessed against him by *Kelly*, did not receive him with all the Marks of Esteem, which the seeming Importance of his Commission required: He only thanked him for the Pains he had taken, and told him he would shortly consider of the Contents of his Dispatches.

He remained at *Rome* for some Months before he could have another Audience; and at last was referred to Mr. *Kelly*; who made light of every Thing Mr. *Murray* proposed: He wanted to prevail on the Chevalier to order a Sum of Money to be distributed amongst the Clans, both to engage them more firmly in his Interest, and to buy up Arms; but the Politicians at *Rome* could not be persuaded to be of his Opinion; they concluded nothing could be done without

without foreign Force; and the Situation of the Affairs of *Europe* was then such, that they could not expect any Thing of that kind; all that he could procure was a Letter from the Chevalier addressed to the Highland Clans, thanking them for their proffered Service, and telling them he hoped he should soon have an Opportunity of returning them his Acknowledgments in a more agreeable Manner.

Mr. *Murray* returned with this to *Scotland*, and though it gave but little Satisfaction to the Party, yet *Murray* looked upon himself at the Head of the *Jacobite* Party, tho' no one of any Note in it would converse with him, much less trust him with their Secrets.

When the Invasion in 1743 was talked of, Mr. *Murray* began to muster all his Forces, and wrote circular Letters to his Correspondents in the Highlands, but they took little Notice of them, yet when the young Chevalier landed, in spite of *Kelly's* Opposition, *Murray* was made Secretary of State for *Scotch* Affairs; but the Affairs of *England* remained in *Kelly's* Management.

The young Chevalier had not been many Weeks in *Scotland*, when the Emptiness of Mr. *Murray's* Promises appeared; for those Gentlemen he had depended on, in
the

the List he had sent to the Chevalier, either joined the King's Forces, remained neuter, or if they joined, it was with such a Force, as bore no Proportion to the Strength *Murray* had promised in their Name.

These Disappointments exposed *Murray* to the Resentment of *Kelly*, who never failed doing him ill Offices with the Chevalier, while he remained with the Army, but when that Gentleman returned to *France* to hasten the *French* Succours, Mr. *Murray* enjoyed his Place with greater Peace, and was allowed to transact the Business of Secretary of the whole Island. But he wanted not Enemies who could have wished him removed from the young Pretender's Favour, because he united himself with *Sullivan* and *Oneil*, who engrossed a large Share of it; the *Scotch* could not but resent that two *Irishmen*, who brought nothing to the Cause but their Persons should be preferred to Natives, who risked their Lives and Fortunes, and charged the Secretary with Meanness of Spirit, and Treachery to his Country, for allowing himself to be the Tool of these Favourites; however he found these two supported him in his Place; so, like a true Statesman, he despised the Complaints of his Countrymen: He became haughty and imperious; and, in his Station of a Mock-Secretary of State, he behaved
with

with as much Arrogance, as if he had been Prime Minister to the greatest Prince in *Europe*; he is naturally a Coward, and consequently cruel in his Disposition, as you may gather from the Circumstance of his signing an Order before the Battle of *Culloden*, to give no Quarter to the King's Forces. This Story has been reported since he was taken up, and is believed by many to be true: Some who would willingly take the Odium of such Barbarity off the young Pretender, would insinuate, that the Order was signed by *Murray* without his Master's Knowledge.

On the 28th of *June* this notable Secretary was apprehended at his Sister's House, about five Miles from *Brughton*, and twenty-four South of *Edinburgh*, and was convey'd to the Castle of that City the same Evening. Soon after he was sent to *London*, committed Prisoner in the Tower, and had Notice some Time since to prepare for Trial, which is to begin on the 15th Instant, [*December,*] with that of some others, at *St. Margaret's-Hill, Southwark*.

F I N I S.